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## THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Vol. XIX.

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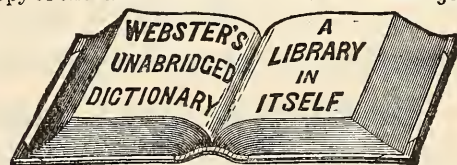
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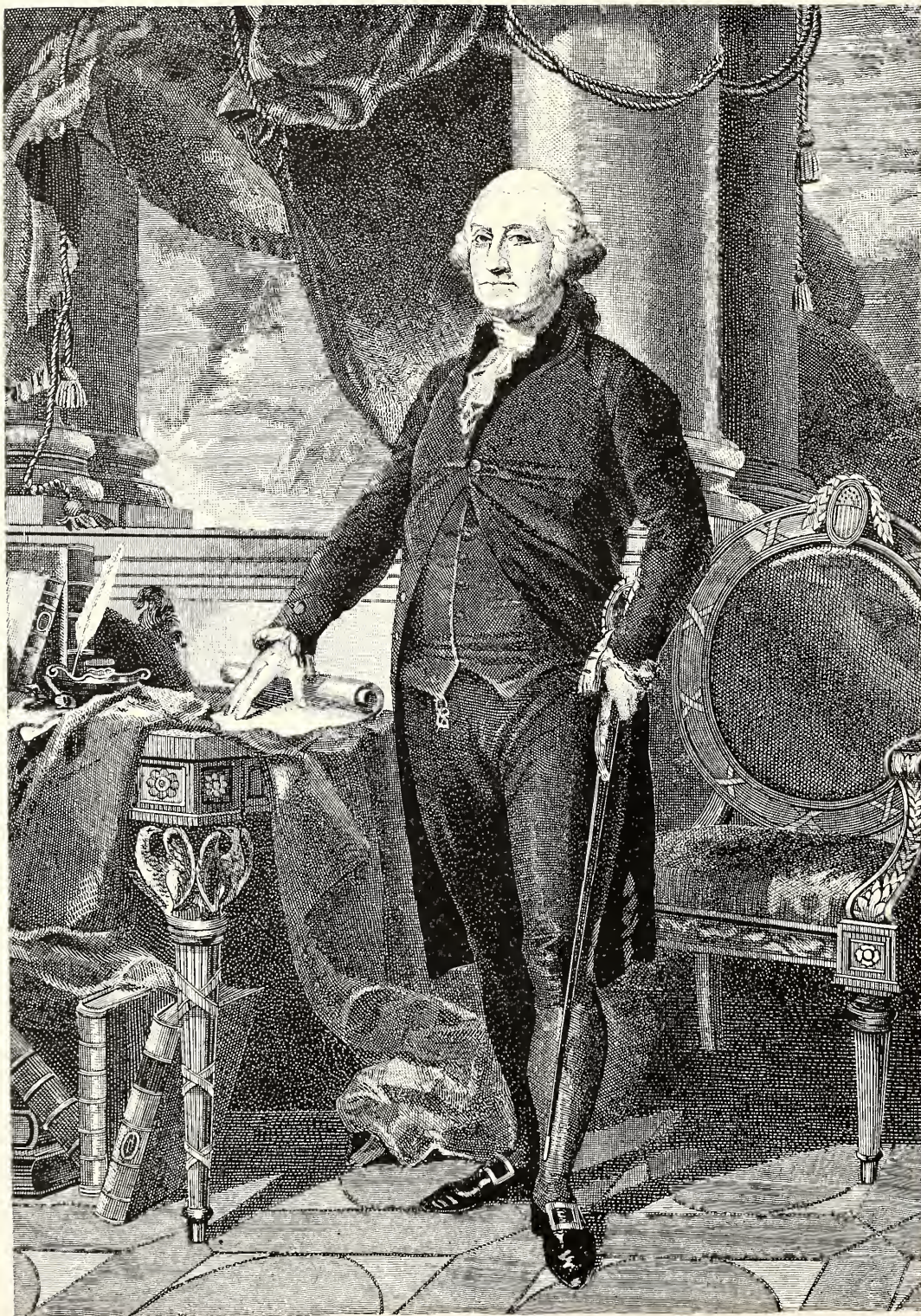
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*George Washington*

[Original Painting by Gilbert Stuart in the gallery of Lenox Library.]

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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VOL. XIX

FEBRUARY, 1888

No. 2

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## GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE near approach of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the first President of the United States, the most sublime event in human history, has already quickened the American pulse and roused an earnest inquiry as to whether new and useful lessons may not still be learned from a critical study of the career of the man who was reputed the first soldier of his time, and who was elected ruler of a nation without a dissenting vote.

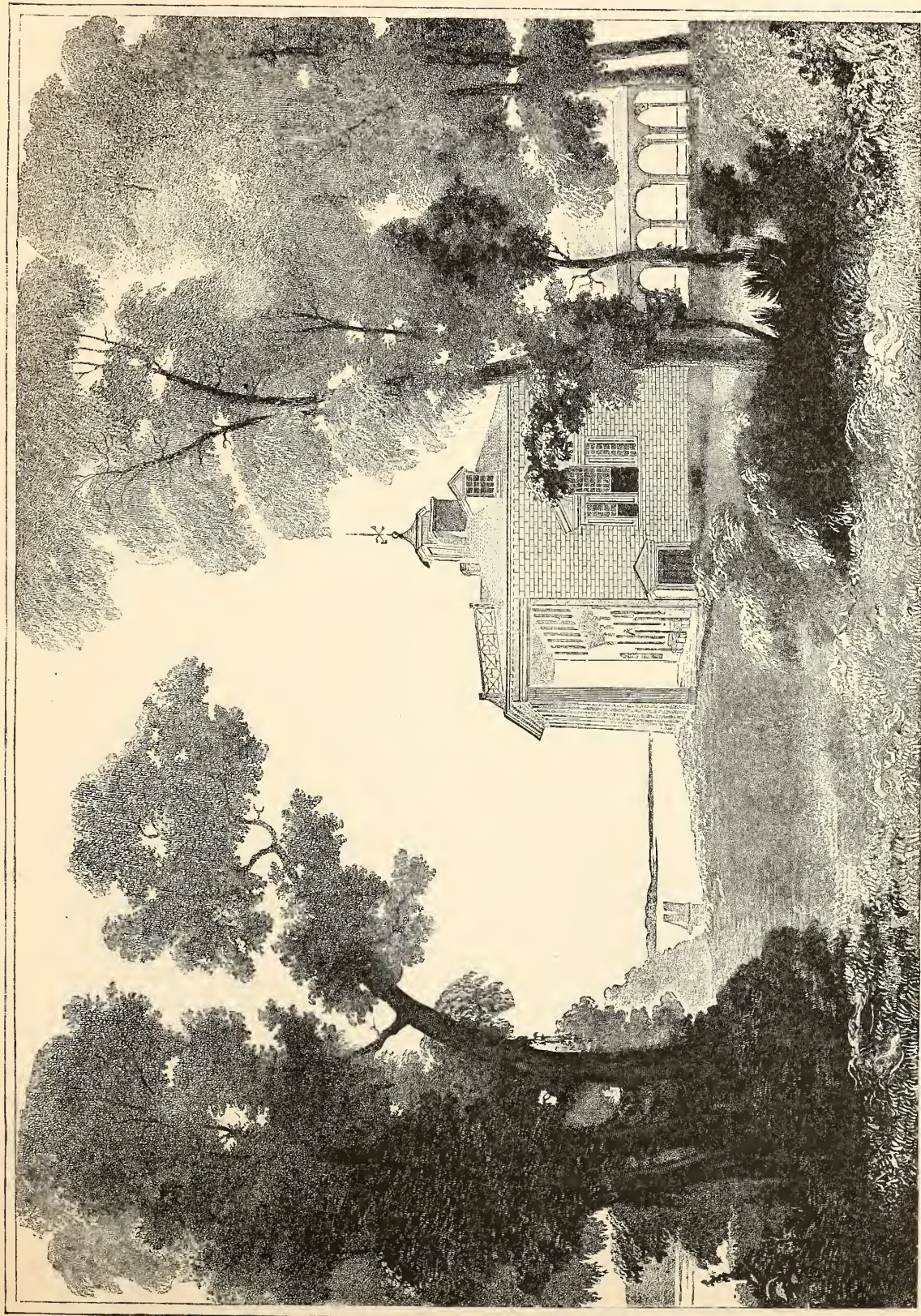
The present generation has been more or less for some years under the despotism of a fashion which aimed to foster self-esteem in small minds through the demolition of heroic ideals. But fashions change—and this one in particular has gone by. We are not as a people hero-worshippers—our dangers in that direction are few; at the same time, we are richly endowed with appreciative intelligence as to what our country is and hopes to be, and through what instrumentalities it originally started on the high road to its present rank among nations.

The annual celebration of Washington's birthday on the 22d of February, and the imperishable interest attending every fresh discovery of Washington's unpublished correspondence or rare portraits, reveals a national sentiment worthy of our race. The leader of our armies in a cause that seemed at many periods during the progress of the Revolution a forlorn hope, and the guide of our bewildered legislators when independence was finally achieved, will never fail to hold the highest place in the American heart; and his fame is secure to the ends of the earth so long as his own written words exist. It has been truly said that his letters illustrate as nothing else can the solid and enduring charm of a great, complete, well-rounded and self-poised character.

In the general sweep of events Washington became a pioneer through the force of circumstances; he embarked with lofty heroism in a new and vast political experiment; he created precedents, he controlled men. There was no miracle in his birth and growth and fitness for high positions. The habit of deifying him has been a mistake as pernicious as that of try

ing to belittle him. The average schoolboy of to-day glories in the fact that the hatchet story has been pronounced a myth. Childhood has a natural aversion to models of goodness; and childhood reaches from the cradle to old age. A bright little girl of five years on one occasion was taught a few of George Washington's rules of deportment, which were jotted into one of his early note-books. Two of these made a great impression upon her mind—the impropriety of leaning on the table at meals, and of interrupting conversation. She was watchful for any transgression of these rules on the part of the older members of her family, and when she caught a culprit would shout to the top of her little voice, "George Washington!" One morning the tiny maiden was lifted into her high-chair at the breakfast table in bad humor, and resting her chubby arms on the festive board covered her pouting face with her baby hands. In an instant a chorus of merry voices screamed aloud, "George Washington!" The child did not seem to relish being caught in her own trap. She neither smiled nor took her arms from the table, but looking up with a curious expression on her somber face, said, in an even voice, "I guess I'll let George Washington slide."

It is not easy to do justice to such a many-sided character as that of Washington in an ordinary biography. The man is too large for the biography. But truth in fractions will never be amiss. Short studies may be of surpassing value if fiction is denied an entrance gate. We can well dispense with the hatchet story when there is so much worth knowing without it in the boyhood and youth of Washington. He was reared in a home where the absence of moral and religious training would have been esteemed a disgrace, and when he stepped into public notice he was untrammelled by troublesome and deteriorating habits. His breeding was that of a gentleman. Industry was one of his cardinal virtues, and it formed one of the chief elements in his subsequent fortunes. The gravities and responsibilities of life took possession of him early. In field sports, in skilled horsemanship, in surveying with its attendant fatigue, exposure and expedients, in the use of the rifle, and in the care of a rural domain, all the manly qualities, both physical and mental, were pretty evenly developed. He had the best training possible for military life in a new country, and it is refreshing to notice that he was never afflicted with waste moments. The wonder often expressed by the pleasure-loving class of American citizens, how the "Father of our Country" could have lived so long and seen so much that was funny, and *never laughed*, finds but a faint response in actual history. Washington, as is well known, had a human side from first to last, and although much anx-



MOUNT VERNON.

[Engraved from an artist's unfinished sketch, Through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

iety and responsibility gave him a serious aspect and his smiles were rare, yet he was by no means wanting in a sense of humor, could enjoy a good story, and see its point and laugh as heartily (if not as frequently) as other men. Then again, the carpers who dwell upon Washington's occasional exhibitions of temper do him good instead of evil service, for had he not possessed hot passions, as well as good sense, strong impulses tempered by sound judgment, and quick and vigorous determination, how could he have wielded the loose and undefined power delegated to him with such blessed and far-reaching results?

In his perfect self-control our first President was inimitable. This trait had reached its meridian when he came to New York in 1789. His genius for keeping tranquil when most perplexed was only paralleled by his precision in details, and his executive skill in accomplishing an enormous amount of work. The elegant Stuart portrait which forms the frontispiece to this number of the Magazine \* represents him as he appeared on state occasions, in a full suit of black velvet, his hair somewhat blached by time and powdered to snowy whiteness. His magnificent figure was neither unreal nor marble. He stood six feet three inches high in his slippers, as straight as an arrow, was broad-shouldered and well-formed, with no superfluous flesh, and is said to have weighed some two hundred and thirty pounds. His arm was long and muscular, and his hand immeasurably large. He was fifty-eight years of age, with a character at that date so rounded by discipline, firm and true, kindly and sweet, kingly and grand, as to have withstood all subsequent storms of criticism as unshaken and uninjured as the air when a boy wings an arrow into it. The personal influence he exercised tied as with a knot of steel the conflicting forces together. His irresistible magnetism disproves the notion that he was the cold, unsympathetic and forbidding personage some historians have tried to make him appear. He was dignified even to a lofty reserve, which was essential in such an anomalous condition of social affairs, and

\* The Magazine of American History has, prior to this date, published eighteen different portraits of Washington, in preceding volumes, as the following references indicate :

Vol. III. 87 ; From miniature by Birch.

Vol. III. 466 ; Medallion after Houdon.

Vol. IV. 1 ; From Stuart's Athenæum head.

Vol. IV. 81 ; Group of four portraits, by Stuart, Trumbull, Peale, and Houdon.

Vol. IV. 119 ; St. Mémin crayon head.

Vol. V. 85 ; Portrait on bank-note.

Vol. VI. 81 ; Portrait by Trumbull.

Vol. VII. 80 ; Pen and ink head by Latrobe.

Vol. IX. 81 ; Portrait by Sharpless.

Vol. X. 177 ; Portrait by Trumbull.

Vol. X. 387 ; From Trumbull's painting in City Hall.

Vol. XI. 90 ; Portrait in possession of Vaughan.

Vol. XI. 513 ; From miniature by Mrs: Sharpless.

Vol. XII. 550 ; Cameo head by Madame Brehan.

Vol. XII. 552 ; From miniature by Copley.



WASHINGTON,

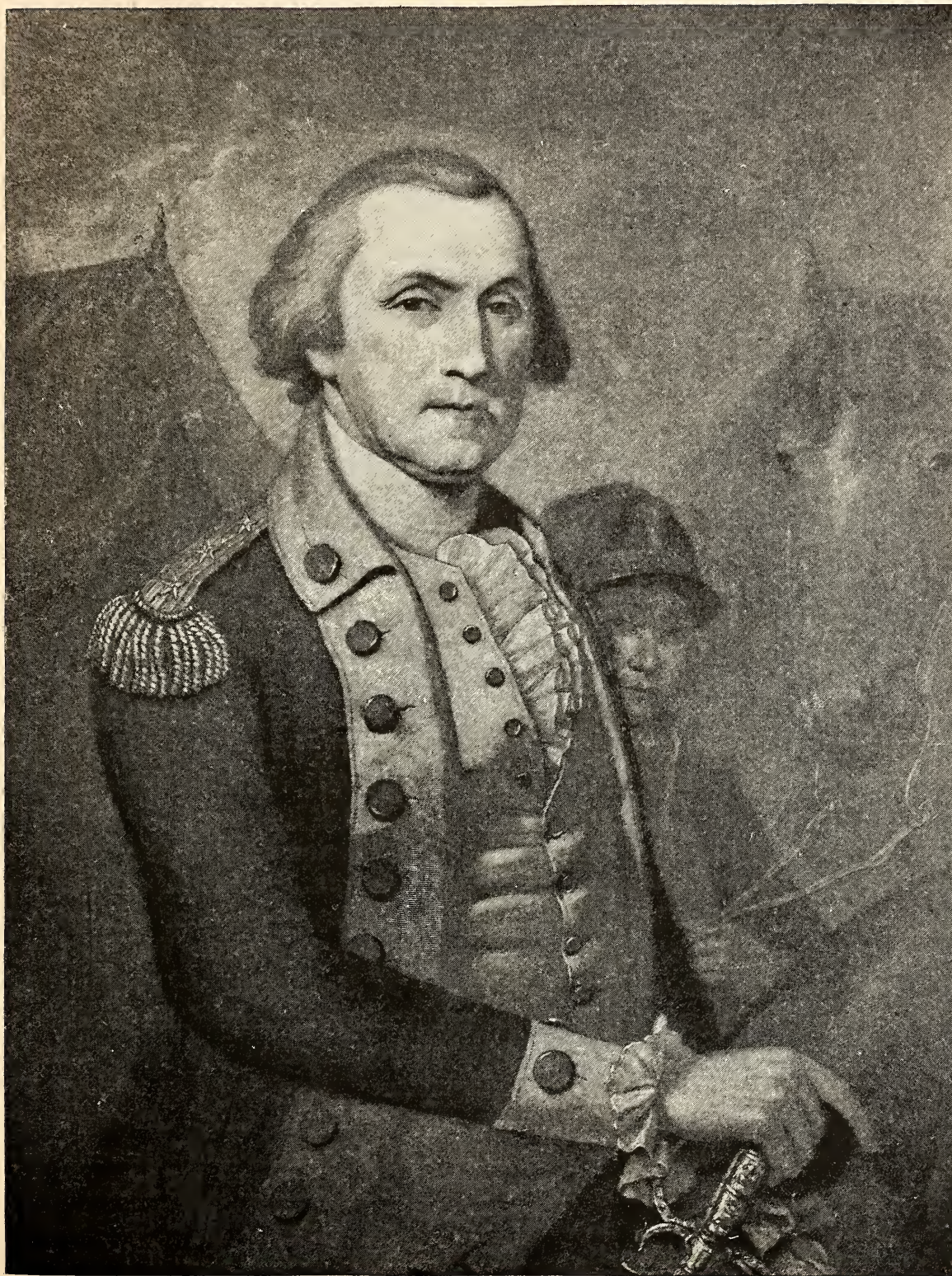
*Généralissime des États unis de L'Amérique*

he was sublimely prudent. He was apparently never free from the painful consciousness that he was establishing an untried, unheralded, unforeseen precedent in the world. And the intensity of his thinking—which some of the great artists have almost succeeded in portraying—stamped itself upon his features. Art cannot be expected to do full justice, however, to the idea, the moral power, the real greatness of Washington.

One of the penalties of distinction is the multiplication of portraits, and Washington suffered with the serenity of a martyr until sittings for his picture became intolerable. He was gracious to Peale, Trumbull, Stuart, Savage, and some others, but the incessant demands upon his time—for every American portrait-painter wanted to try his hand on the distinguished subject, and foreign artists were constantly appearing in this country for that purpose alone—and the wretched productions of his visage on banners, fans, seals, buttons, transparencies, wall-paper, cotton prints, melancholy samplers, and nearly every object in the economy of trade and domestic life, harassed and disconcerted him. He was completely tired out when Pine applied for a sitting. He wrote to Hopkinson, "at first I was impatient at Pine's request and as restive under the operation as a colt is under the saddle. The next time I submitted very reluctantly, but with less flouncing. Now no dray horse moves more readily to the thill than I go to the painter's chair."

Trumbull was so much with Washington that he became familiar with his moods and variations of feeling and of temper for nearly a quarter of a century; he saw him in military costume, in citizen's clothing, in full dress at the banquet, on horseback in the field, and in deep thought in the councils of war and of state. His portraits of Washington are spirited, and as they represent him in the prime of life are by some preferred to those by Stuart. Rembrandt Peale, when only seventeen, secured a sitting from Washington, and is reported as saying that the honor agitated more than it inspired him. He completed a portrait, however, in 1795. Charles Wilson Peale, the father of Rembrandt, painted the early portrait of Washington as a Virginia colonel. His brother, James Peale, becoming much interested in the subject, painted in 1778 a very striking portrait of Washington from life, clad in the military uniform of the period, and this portrait, which became the property of Mr. David C. Claypoole of Philadelphia, was subsequently purchased by James Lenox, and is now one of the choice treasures in the Lenox Library.

The Earl of Buchan commissioned a Scotch artist, Archibald Robertson, to cross the Atlantic and paint for him a portrait of Washington.

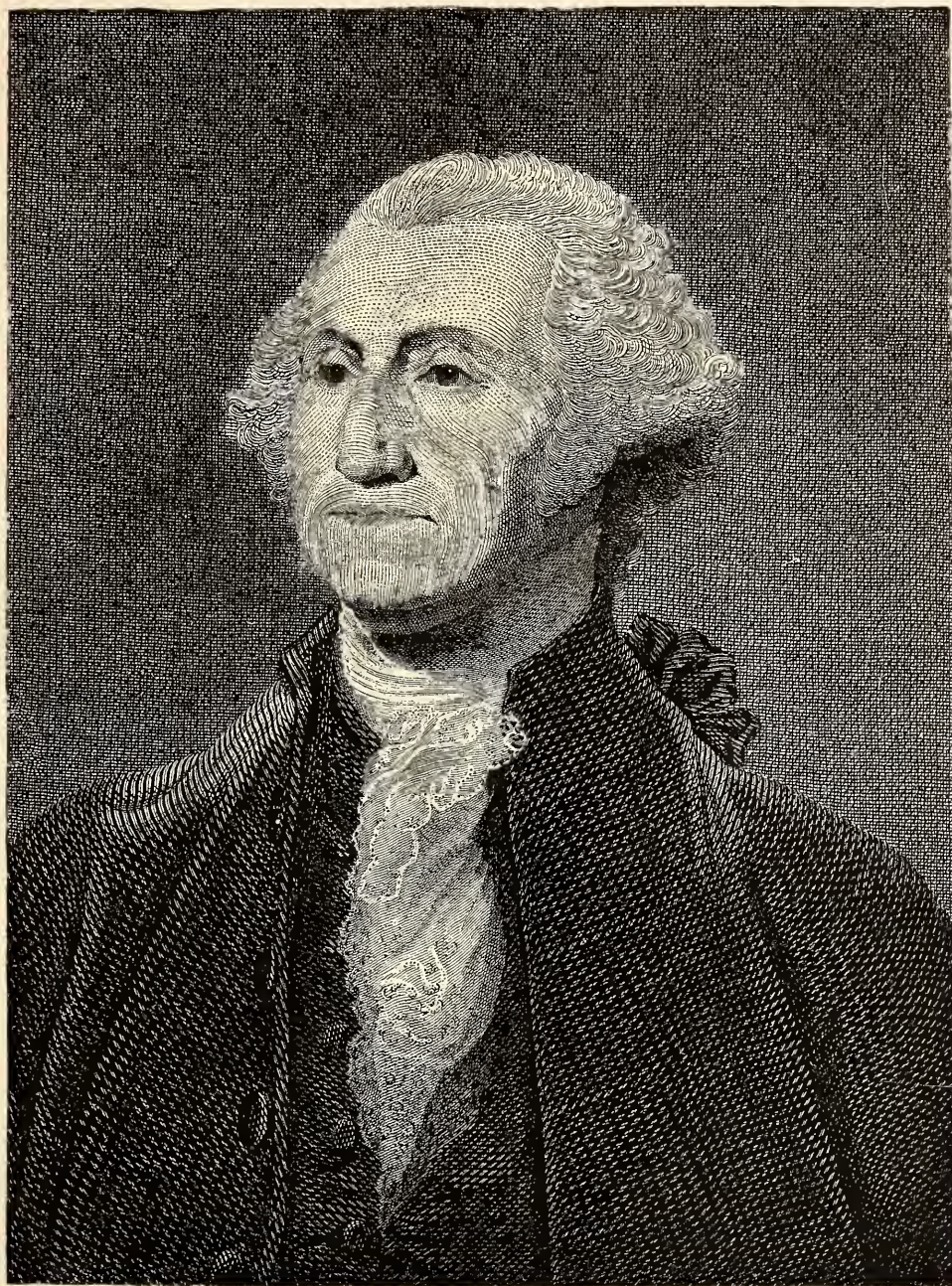


WASHINGTON.

*Original Painting by James Peale, now in Lenox Library.*

This artist, toward the end of December, 1791, obtained sittings in Philadelphia from both the President and Mrs. Washington, and painted their miniatures, which he retained in his own possession, that of Washington being converted into a brooch and worn by the ladies of his family. The portrait in oil afterwards finished for the Earl of Buchan gave excessive satisfaction. Robertson seems to have found great difficulty in quieting and securing a familiar expression from his Presidential sitter, and relates that finally Mrs. Washington came to the rescue, "whose easy, polished and familiar gaity and ceaseless cheerfulness almost accomplished a cure." The artist himself was timid and much worried, and the President "with his accustomed kindness" invited him to a family dinner where, contrary to his usual habits, the stately Washington engrossed most of the conversation, "and so delighted the company with humorous anecdotes that he completely set the table in a roar."

Stuart's first portrait of Washington was painted simultaneously with that of Rembrandt Peale in 1795. From the moment this early picture was finished Stuart was overrun with orders. The Marquis of Lansdowne wrote from England for a full-length portrait, and Stuart painted it in a barn in the rear of the house where he lived in Germantown, near Philadelphia. It was Stuart's masterpiece, and created a great sensation in Europe. While this celebrated painting was in the artist's hands it was seen by Mr. William Constable of New York, who was so much charmed with it that he ordered a similar one painted for himself. Twice while Stuart was at work upon the latter Mr. Constable drove in his chariot and four from New York to Philadelphia to watch its progress. On one of these journeys he was accompanied by Daniel McCormick, a rich bachelor residing in Wall street, famous for his mixture of generous hospitality, convivial habits, economical notions, and strict religious principles, who meeting Stuart hurrying along the street one day with a Turkey rug on his arm, asked him what he was going to do with it. "It is for my studio," replied Stuart. "You extravagant dog," exclaimed McCormick, "why did you not buy a Kidderminster for your studio? It would have answered as well." Stuart answered quietly, "some day you will say I have done right." When the painting was finished (in which the rug was skillfully introduced), and Mr. Constable and Mr. McCormick came in to see, approve, and admire it, Stuart nudged McCormick with his elbow and remarked, "Well, what do you say now to my rug?" "You have done right," was the emphatic reply. This painting was sent when finished to Mr. Constable's house, in New York, where it was shown to throngs of visitors. It is in perfect preservation at the present time, and in the posses-



WASHINGTON.

*Original Painting for Marquis of Lansdowne: Engraved by James Tittler, A. R. A.*

sion of Mr. Constable's grandson, Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, of Brooklyn. Before it was sent to New York, however, Stuart painted a half-length Washington from it, which Mr. Constable presented to Alexander Hamilton, and which is now in the possession of that great financier's grandson. Ere long Stuart painted several full-length portraits of Washington. The

one which appears as our frontispiece was executed for Mr. Peter Jay Munro of New York, in 1799. It was purchased by Mr. James Lenox in 1845, and is at present "No. 70" in the gallery of the Lenox Library.

To trace the history of each of Stuart's many portraits of Washington would be of unique interest were it among the possibilities. Replicas of his famous Athenæum head are very numerous. A highly finished copy was made in 1810 for Hon. Josiah Quincy, and is still in the family homestead at Quincy. Houdon rose to distinction during this period so remarkably prolific of original characters, and crossed the seas to exercise his chisel in transferring Washington's features to marble. Stuart, when asked on one occasion to give his candid opinion as to the merits of the various busts and portraits of Washington, replied: "Houdon's bust comes first, and my head of him next," referring to the Athenæum head.

On coming into the new Presidential office Washington took up his abode in New York city. His official duties were legion, and the questions coming up for discussion and settlement among the most intricate and important this world has ever known. He spent many hours of each day with Jay, Hamilton and Knox, shaping the course and conduct of the departments of the new government; and he adopted such a time-saving policy, fitting all his duties in with his pleasures systematically, that he was able to take necessary recreation and indulge moderately in society. He walked about the city at his pleasure, and was naturally the observed of all observers. He really looked at his best when on the promenade. He rode daily on horseback, and he drove with Mrs. Washington and others every pleasant morning, sometimes in the post-chaise and sometimes in the chariot. His horses were numerous and the finest the country produced, and it is said that their hoofs were freshly painted every morning. He drove four and not infrequently six before his carriage, with outriders in livery, the stylish establishment preceded usually by two secretaries on horseback. His circumstantial note-book furnishes the best picture extant of the social side of his first year of Presidential life, a few extracts from which, in this connection, will entertain all readers who have not hitherto had access to this rare record:

"October 1, 1789. Exercised in my carriage this forenoon. The following company dined here to-day, viz: Mr Read of the Senate, Colonel Bland and Mr Madison of the House of Representatives, Mr Osgood and his lady, Colonel Duer, his lady and Miss Brown, Colonel Lewis Morris and lady, Lady Christina Griffin and her daughter, and Judge Duane and Mrs Greene. . . .

Saturday. Oct. 3. Walked in the afternoon and sat about two o'clock for

Madame de Brehan to complete a miniature profile of me which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original.

Sunday Oct. 4. Went to St Paul's chapel in the forenoon. Spent the remainder of the day in writing private letters for tomorrow's post.

Monday Oct 5. . . . Exercised on horseback between the hours of nine and eleven in the forenoon, and between five and six in the afternoon on foot. Had conversation with Colonel Hamilton on the propriety of my making a tour through the Eastern States during the recess of Congress, to acquire knowledge of the face of the country, the growth and agricul-



MARTHA WASHINGTON.

*From the miniature by Robertson.*

ture thereof, and the temper and disposition of the inhabitants towards the new government, who thought it a very desirable plan, and advised it accordingly.

Tuesday Oct 6. Exercised in the carriage with Mrs Washington in the forenoon. . . .

Wednesday Oct 7. Exercised on horseback, and called on the Vice-President. In the afternoon walked an hour. . . ."

On the 15th of October Washington started on his tour through the New England States and returning reached New York on the 13th of November. On the Sunday after his return we find the following entry in his notebook:

"November 15. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—and after returning from thence was visited by Major Butler, Major Meredith, and Mr Smith, South Carolina. Received an invitation to attend the funeral of

Mrs Roosevelt (the wife of a senator of this state) but declined complying with it—first, because the propriety of accepting the invitation of this sort appeared very questionable—and secondly (though to do it in this instance might not be improper) because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen. . . .

Tuesday Nov 17. The visitors at the Levee to day were numerous.

Wednesday Nov 18. Took a walk in the forenoon and called upon Mr Jay on business, but he was not within. On my return paid Mr Vaughan, senior, a visit, informal. Sent a commission as District Judge of South Carolina to the Honorable William Drayton of that State.

Thursday Nov 19. The following company dined here to-day, viz: Mrs Adams (lady of the Vice-President), Col Smith and lady, and Miss Smith Mrs Adams niece, Governor Clinton and lady, and Miss Cornelia Clinton, and Major Butler his lady and two daughters.

Friday Nov 20. The visitors of gentlemen and ladies to Mrs Washington this evening were numerous and respectable. . . .

Tuesday No 24. A good deal of Company at the Levee to-day. Went to the play in the evening—sent tickets to the following ladies and gentlemen and invited them to seats in my box, viz, Mrs. Adams (lady of the Vice President) General Schuyler and lady, Mr (Rufus) King and lady, Maj'r Butler and lady, Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton and lady, Mrs Green—all of whom came except Mrs Butler, who was indisposed."

The theatre was in John street, north side, near Broadway, and the play to which Washington refers was *Darby's Return*, written by William Dunlap. Music commenced and the audience rose when the President and his guests entered the building. Darby was of course the principal character in the play; he was an Irish lad who had been to New York, and was recounting his wonderful American experiences to his friends in Ireland. He went on to say:

"Here, too, I saw some mighty pretty shows,  
A revolution without blood or blows;  
For, as I understood, the cunning elves  
The people all revolted from themselves."

Washington smiled at this humorous allusion to the change in the government; and the eyes of the audience were fixed curiously upon him as Darby continued:

"A man who fought to free the land from woe,  
*Like* me, had left his farm a soldiering to go,  
Then having gained his point, he had, *like me*,  
Returned, his own potatoe ground to see.

But there he could not rest. With one accord  
He is called to be a kind of—not a lord—  
I don't know what; he is not a great man, sure,  
For poor men love him just as he were poor."

Washington changed color slightly, and looked serious. When Kathleen asked :

"How looked he, Darby? Was he short or tall?"

and Darby replied that he did not see him, because he had mistaken a man who was

"All lace and glitter, botherum and shine"

for him until the show was out of sight, Washington's features relaxed and he laughed as heartily as his friends around him.

Turning again to the note-book:

"Wednesday. Nov 25. Exercised on horseback between breakfast and dinner—in which, returning, I called upon Mr Jay and Gen Knox on business—and made informal visits to the Gov'r (George Clinton) Mr Izard, Genl. Schuyler, and Mrs Dalton. The following company dined with me, viz: Doctr. Johnson and lady and daughter (Mrs Neely), Mr Izard and lady and son, Mr Smith (So. Carolina) and lady, Mr Kean and lady, and the Chief Justice, Mr Jay. After which I went to the dancing assembly, at which I stayed until ten o'clock.

Thursday. Nov 26. Being the day appointed for a thanksgiving, I went to St Paul's Chapel, though it was most inclement and stormy—but few people at church.

Friday, Nov 27. Not many visitors this evening to Mrs Washington.

Saturday, Nov 28. Exercised on horseback.

Sunday, Nov 29. Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday. Nov 30. Went to the play in the evening and presented tickets to the following persons, viz: Doctr. Johnson and lady, Mr Dalton and lady, the Chief Justice of the United States and lady, Secretary of War and lady, Baron de Steuben, and Mrs Green.

Tuesday. Dec 1. A pretty full Levee to-day—among the visitors was the Vice-President and all the senators in town. Exercised on horseback between ten and twelve. Read the papers relative to our affairs with the Emperor of Morocco, and sent them to Mr Jay to prepare answers to them.

Wednesday, Dec 2. Exercised in the post chaise with Mrs Washington—visited on our return the Vice-President and family—afterwards walked to Mr King's—neither he nor his lady were at home, or to be seen.

Thursday, Dec 3. The following gentlemen and ladies dined here, viz:—

Genl. Schuyler, his lady and daughter (Mrs Van Rensselaer) Mr Dalton and his lady, the Secretary of the Treasury and his lady, General Knox and lady, Mrs Green, Baron de Steuben, Col Osgood (Postmaster-General) and the Treasurer Majr. Meredith.

Friday Dec 4. A great number of visitors (gentlemen and ladies) this evening to Mrs Washington. The Governor of New Jersey, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly of that state, presented an Address from the legislature thereof, and received an answer to it, after which they dined with me.

Saturday, Dec 5. Exercised on horseback between ten and twelve o'clock. The Vice-President (John Adams) and lady and two sons, Col Smith and lady, and his sister, and Mrs Adams neice, dined here.

Sunday, Dec 6. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday Dec 7. Walked round the battery in the afternoon.

Tuesday Dec 8. Finished my extracts from the Commissioners Report of their proceedings at the Treaty with the Creek Indians—and from many other papers respecting Indian Matters and the Western Territory. A full Levee to-day.

Wednesday Dec 9. Walked round the battery.

Thursday. Dec 10. Exercised on horseback between ten and twelve o'clock. The following company dined here to-day, viz : Mrs King, Mr and Mrs Few, Mr and Mrs Harrison, Mr and Mrs Wolcott, Mr Duer, his lady, and Miss Brown, Mr Griffin and lady, and Lady Christina and her daughter.

Friday Dec 11. Being rainy and had no person except the Vice-President visited Mrs Washington this evening.

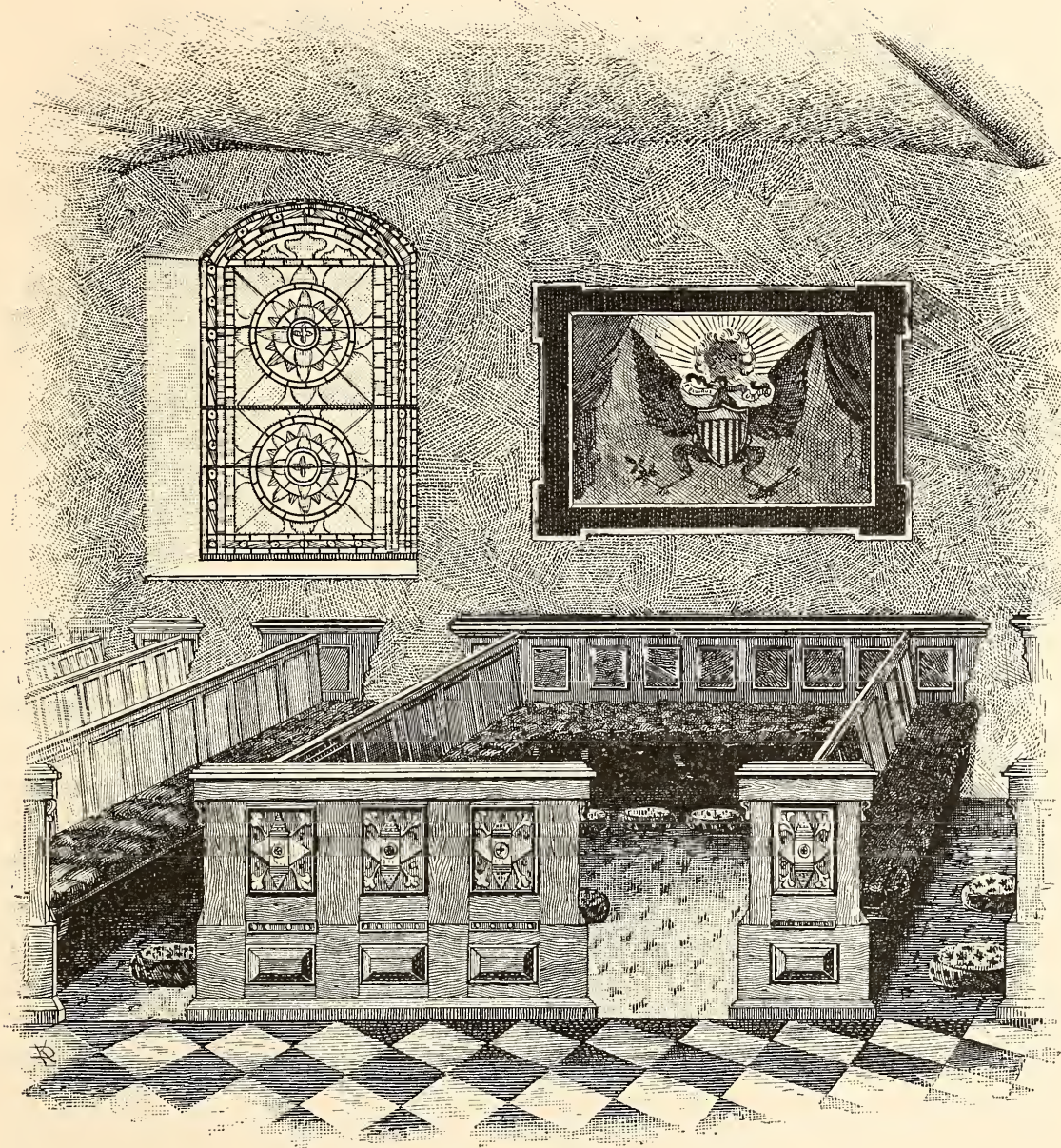
Saturday. Dec 12. Exercised in the coach with Mrs Washington and the two children (Master and Miss Custes) between breakfast and dinner—went the fourteen miles round.\*

Sunday, Dec 13. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon.

Monday, Dec. 14. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Tuesday Dec 15. Exercised on horseback about ten o'clock—called on the Secretary of the Department of War, and gave him the heads of many letters to be written to characters in the Western Country, relative chiefly to Indian affairs. Visitors to the Levee to-day were not very numerous, though respectable.

\* "The fourteen miles round," to which Washington refers, was over the old picturesque Bloomingdale road on the west side of Manhattan Island, leaving what is now Riverside Park near the high bluff where General Grant's tomb attracts the world, by a cross-road, to the Kingsbridge and old Boston roads in returning.



THE WASHINGTON PEW IN ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL.

*[The pew in which Washington worshiped in St. Paul's Chapel is on the north side of the chapel under the gallery about half way between the chancel and the vestry room. Directly opposite it on the south side of the chapel is the pew then occupied by Governor George Clinton.]*

Wednesday Dec 16. Dined with Mrs Washington and all the family, (except the two children) at Governor Clinton's—where also dined the Vice-President, his lady, Col. and Mrs Smith, the Mayor Col Varick, and his lady, and old Mr Van Berkel and his daughter.

Thursday Dec 17. The following company dined here, viz: the chief justice of the United States and his lady; Mr King, Col and Mrs Law-

rence, Mrs Gerry, Mr Egbert Benson, Bishop Provost, and Doct. Lynn and his lady.

Friday, Dec 18. Read over and digested my thoughts upon the subject of a National Militia, from the plans of the militia of Europe, those of the Secretary of War, and the Baron de Steuben.

Saturday, Dec 19. Committed the above thoughts to writing in order to send them to the Secretary of the Department of War, to be worked into the form of a Bill, with which to furnish the Committee of Congress which had been appointed to draught one.

Sunday, Dec 20. Went to St Paul's chapel in the forenoon.

Monday Dec 21. Framed the above thoughts on the subject of a National Militia into the form of a letter, and sent it to the Secretary of the Department of War. Sat from ten to one o'clock for a Mr Savage to draw my portrait for the University of Cambridge in the State of Massachusetts at the request of the president and governors of the said University.

Tuesday Dec 22. A pretty full and respectable Levee to-day—at which several Members of Congress, newly arrived, attended.

Wednesday, Dec 23. Exercised in the Post chaise with Mrs Washington. . . .

Thursday Dec 24. The Secretary of War coming according to appointment, he was instructed, after conversing fully on the matter, what answers to return to the Executive of Virginia, and to the Representatives of the frontier counties.

Friday Dec 25. *Christmas Day*. Went to St Pauls Chapel in the forenoon. The visitors to Mrs Washington this afternoon were not numerous but respectable . . .

Monday Dec 28. Sat all the forenoon for Mr Savage, who was taking my portrait.

Tuesday. Dec 29. Being very snowing not a single person appeared at the Levee . . .

Wednesday, Dec 30. Exercised in the carriage . . .

Saturday Jan 9. Exercised with Mrs Washington and the children in the Coach the 14 miles round. In the afternoon walked round the Battery.

Sunday, Jan 10. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—wrote private letters in the afternoon for the Southern mail. . . .

Thursday Jan. 14. . . . The following gentlemen dined here to-day. viz: Messers Henry and Maclay, of the Senate, and Messers Wadsworth, Trumbull, Floyd, Boudinot, Wyncoop, Seney, Page, Lee, and Matthews, of the House of Representatives; and Mr John Trumbull.

Friday Jan 15. Snowing all day—but few ladies and gentlemen as visitors this evening to Mrs Washington.

Saturday Jan 16. Exercised in the coach with Mrs Washington and the two children, about 12 o'clock. . . .

Saturday Jan 23. Went with Mrs Washington in the forenoon to see the Paintings of Mr John Trumbull.

Sunday Jan 24. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. . . .

Friday Jan 29. Exercised on horseback this forenoon; during my ride, Mr Johnston, one of the Senators from North Carolina, who had just arrived, came to pay his respects, as did Mr Cushing, one of the Associate Judges—the latter came again about 3 o'clock, introduced by the vice President. . . . The visitors to Mrs Washington this evening were numerous and respectable.

Saturday. Jan 30. Exercised with Mrs Washington and the children in the coach in the forenoon. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon.

Sunday. Jan 31. Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Mr Wilson one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court paid his respects to me after I returned from church. Spent the afternoon writing letters to Mount Vernon . . . .

Wednesday Feb 10. Sat from 9 until 11 o'clock for Mr Trumbull to draw my picture. . . .

Thursday. Feb. 11. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. The following dined here: Messrs Leonard and Grout of Massachusetts; Huntington and Sturges, of Connecticut; Silvester, of New York; Sinnickson, of New Jersey; Gale, of Maryland; and Bland, Parker and Moore of Virginia.

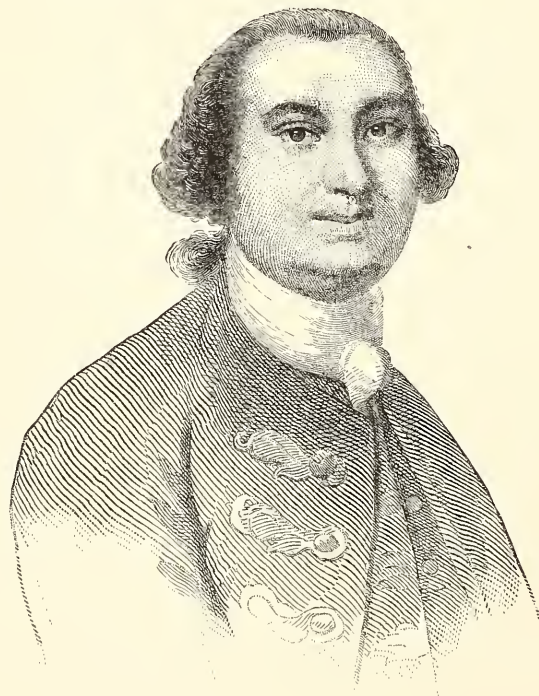
Friday Feb 12. Sat from 9 o'clock until 11, for Mr John Trumbull, for the purpose of drawing my picture. A good deal of company (gentlemen and ladies) to visit Mrs Washington this afternoon. . . .

Thursday February 18. Sat for Mr Trumbull from 9 o'clock until 10; after which exercised in the postchaise with Mrs Washington. On our return home called on Mrs Adams, lady of the Vice President. The following company dined here to day, viz: Judge Cushing and his lady; the Postmaster General and his lady, and Messers Boudinot, Griffin, Coles, Gerry, and White, and their ladies . . . ."

*Martha J Lamb*

## UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTERS

It gratifies the pride of the patriotic American to find in that representative institution, the British Museum, that a most conspicuous place is accorded to everything relating to Washington, as it affords satisfactory evidence that his fame is cherished in the mother country as a part of the common heritage of the great English-speaking race. Every written or printed word is preserved with scrupulous care, and fills the chief place in the large collection of Americana in the museum. In some respects this



*Henry Bouquet*

*Engraved from portrait in collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*

is superior to anything we have in this country, and purchases of new material are constantly being made. Doubtless the time will come when our government, less influenced by demagoguery and false notions of economy, will be engaged in collecting material relating to the origin, establishment and growth of the Republic, but then the originals will be in Europe, and copies only will be available. When that time comes, and governmental takes the place of individual effort, one may hope for a general depository

under the control of an officer sufficiently intelligent and patriotic to appreciate the public nature of his trust. It should be as far removed from the State Department as possible. There is no better model than the British Museum.

When in London last year I made a careful examination of most of the manuscripts relating to America, and directed copies to be made of some of them for the readers of the *MAGAZINE*. The Haldimand papers include the official reports and correspondence of Colonel Henry Bouquet, who rendered such signal service to the colonies from 1756 to 1765. Letters of Colonel Washington—twenty-five in number, all in fine condition—addressed to Colonel Bouquet, are in this collection. Portions of eleven of these only are given by Sparks in *The Writings of Washington*, and these so altered and amended as to bear little likeness to the originals. The charge made by Lord Mahon and the *Evening Post*, that Mr. Sparks had “taken an unwarrantable liberty with the text, altering, omitting and adding, as might suit his caprice, and that for the purpose of embellishment and of conforming the work to his own standard of taste has tampered with the truth of history,” is so fully confirmed by the Bouquet-Washington letters that Lord Mahon, if he had had access to them, would never have qualified the indictment, as he did, as to additions. Mr. Sparks, in defense, declared that not a line had been anywhere intentionally or knowingly added to the text, and that all he had done was “to correct obvious slips of the pen, occasional inaccuracies of expression, and manifest faults of grammar.”

I give below a few examples in parallel columns :

*As given by Sparks.*

Letter 3d July 1758. “My men are very bare of regimental clothing, and I have no prospect of a supply. So far from regretting this want during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclinations, I would not only order the men to adopt the Indian dress, but cause the officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation causes me to hesitate a moment to leave my regimentals at this place, and proceed as light as any Indian in the woods. It is an unbecoming dress, I own, for an officer ; but convenience rather than show, I think, should be consulted.”

*As written by Washington.*

“My men are very bare of cloaths (Regimentals I mean) and I have no prospect of a supply—this want so far from regretting during this campaign, that were I left to pursue my own Inclinations, I would not only cause the men to adopt the Indian dress but officers also, and set the example myself : Nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General [Forbes] causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the woods. Tis an unbecoming dress I confess for an officer, but convenience rather than shew I think should be consulted.”

In the quotation Mr. Sparks makes Washington hesitate because of the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation, whereas it was the approbation of the commanding general he was in doubt about. In the following extract he makes Washington say that Colonel Byrd posted a company at Edwards's and Pearsall's, whereas in the original it is not stated how the men were placed at those posts: Sparks also misdates the letter, making it July 9th instead of the 7th:

*As given by Sparks.*

"Colonel Byrd, with eight companies of his regiment, arrived here yesterday. He left many sick men behind, and, as he posted a company at Edwards's and Pearsall's, our strength is considerably reduced."

*As written by Washington.*

"Col. Byrd with 8 companies of his regiment, arrived here yesterday. He left many sick men behind him as may be seen by the Inclosed return. This diminution, together with the company posted at Edwards's and Pearsalls reduces our strength considerably."

On the 13th of July Washington wrote two letters, both of which are omitted by Sparks, except a single paragraph of the second letter, which is changed and made a part of the letter incorrectly dated "July 9th." It will be seen that the sentence printed in italics was taken from the beginning of the paragraph and placed at the close:

*As given by Sparks.*

"It gives me great pleasure to find, that you approve the dress I put my men into. It is evident that soldiers in that trim are better able to carry their provisions, are fitter for the active service we must engage in, less liable to sink under the fatigues of a march, and we thus get rid of much baggage, which would lengthen our line of march. *These, and not whim or caprice, were my reasons for ordering this dress.*"

*As written by Washington.*

"It gave me great pleasure to find you approv'd of the dress I have put my men into. I have really done it from a good intention. Caprice and whim had no share in causing of it; on the contrary, 'tis evident I think that soldiers in such a dress are better able to carry their provisions; are fitter for the active service we are engaged in, and less liable to sink under the fatigues of a long march, besides the advantages of contracting, by this means, our line of march, which must extend always in proportion as we are incumber'd with carriages or horses."

*As given by Sparks.*

Letter of 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1758. "I was favored with your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, at eleven o'clock last night. The express, who brought it, informs me, that he was twice fired upon by Indians, and was obliged to abandon his horse *to save himself.*"

*As written by Washington.*

"I was favour'd with your's of the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst. at 11 o'clock last night: the Express who brought it informs me he was Fir'd at twice by 6 Indians, and obliged to abandon his horse."

Camp at Fort Cumberland 7<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>r</sup> 1758

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Capt<sup>r</sup> Waggoner with 50 Men & 19 Waggon's wait upon you for Provisions agreeable to my Yesterday's Return.

I the Letter which I have just recd from M<sup>r</sup> Waltherdells me that the Convoy may be expected at Pearsalls the 15<sup>th</sup> and desires that the Escort (already consisting of 75 Men) may be reinforced as the Waggon's and Cattle will cover a large space of ground.

Pray what will you have done with those Waggon's when they come up, also with these now going for Provisions when they return from Rays Town.

I was this Inst<sup>d</sup> favoured with your 18<sup>th</sup> Campy. I am not surpris'd to hear the Enemy are about, but was greatly so to find them idle so long - I shall this moment send out a Party to way lay the Road. I am pleas'd you have directed it. I wrote for leave to do the same thing Yesterday.

Inclosed is a Return of the Stock &c. that have been brought to this place since my arrival here.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir Yr. most Obed<sup>t</sup> Son.

Edw<sup>d</sup> Washington.

In the paragraph following Colonel Washington wrote, "I . . . . will today or tomorrow, send an officer and some *alert white men* with another party of Cherokees," etc. Sparks makes this read "*a greater number of white men.*" "I must confess," continues Washington, "that I think these scalping parties of Indians we send out will more effectually harrass the enemy (by keeping them under continual alarm) than any party of white people can do; as small partys of ours are not equal to the undertaking, and large ones must be discover'd by their scalping partys early enough to give the Enemy time to repel them by a Superior Force." The last clause of this very clear statement is transformed by Sparks in the following remarkable manner: "*For small parties of the latter are not equal to the task, not being so dexterous at skulking as Indians; and large parties will be discovered by their spies early enough to have a superior force opposed to them.*"

Washington writes "*and fatiguing many more.*" Sparks writes: "*and wearing down the rest.*" Again Washington says: "You are pleased to desire my opinion with regard to making an irruption into the enemy's country with a strong party. As such an enterprise at this juncture when we may suppose the enemy have or are collecting their principal force in that vicinity would require a formidable party," etc. Sparks recasts it thus: "You are pleased to ask my opinion of the propriety of making an irruption into the enemy's country with a strong party. *Such an enterprise Sir, at this juncture, when we may suppose the enemy have collected, or are collecting, their whole force at Fort Duquesne, would require a formidable detachment,*" etc. And again as to repairing General Braddock's road, Washington says: "It is impossible for me to send out any men to repair it as Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer and Cap<sup>t</sup> Dagworthy got every tool for that purpose I had." Sparks attempts to improve on it thus: "It is impossible for me to send out any men to repair it, as I have no tools for that purpose."

In another letter Washington says, "You make me quite happy by your coinciding in opinion with me," etc. Sparks: "*You flatter me much,*" etc.

These will suffice as specimens of Mr. Sparks's editorial work. For the information of the reader I give below accurate copies of such of Washington's letters to Bouquet as Sparks mutilated, and of the fourteen letters which he omitted altogether, and which have not been printed heretofore.

## WASHINGTON TO BOUQUET.

Camp near Fort Cumberland

Sir

3<sup>d</sup> July 1758.

Your favours of the 27<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> and first Inst<sup>t</sup> I have had the Honour to receive.\*

According to Order I march'd from Winchester the 24<sup>th</sup> and arriv'd at this place yesterday in the afternoon with five Companies of the first Virginia Regiment and a Company of Artificers of the second, as you may observe by the Inclosed return.

My March by bad Teams, and bad Roads, (notwithstanding I had sent the Artificers and a covering Party on three days before me) was much delayed. I herewith send a Return of the Provisions and Forage that came up under my Escort we lost three of the Bullocks and that in driving—I cant absolutely say for what purpose the Forage is intended, or where to be lodgd—it was engag'd by M<sup>r</sup> Walkan at Sir In<sup>o</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Clair's request and I believe for the light Horse. The principal part of it met us at Pearsalls on the South Branch ; and neither myself, nor any person else was empowerd, or even desird to receive and pay for it : I was at a loss how to act but thought it most advisable to bring it on—if it is not intended for the light Horse as I apprehend, I should be glad of your directions concerning it, for Capt<sup>n</sup> Stewart who possibly may be Instructed for this purpose I left equipping his Troop at Winchester and is not yet joind me—

As I cant suppose you intended to order any part of my Men upon the Roads, till joind at this place by Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd ; I shall decline sending any upon that service till his arrival; which I suppose may be to morrow as he was preparing to March the 26<sup>th</sup> after me.

I enclose you an exact Return of the Maryland Troops in Garrison at this place—also of their Provisions—and of the Kings Stores and shoud be glad to know what strength you would have this Garrison consist of, how many days Provisions left for them and what quantity of Ammunition—I brought one half of all that was ordered from Winchester by Sir In<sup>o</sup> S<sup>t</sup> [*sic* Clair] and left the other half to follow with Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd. Powder excepted, and of that article there was only 16 Barrels in the Stores there besides 6 others that were made up into cartridges—which are also brought up between us.

M<sup>r</sup> Walker in consequence of Instructions from M<sup>r</sup> Hoops (who I believe proposd to supply us from Roys Town) put a stop to a further purchase of Provisions : You will see by the Returns for what number of days I am supplied, and I desird Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd to bring as much to this place as woud serve his Men a fortnight at least. I am at a loss to Know whether Officers servants that are not Soldiers, are allowed to draw Provisions and shou'd be thankful for your directions as I have had many applications on y<sup>t</sup> head.

There are few Tools for the services required—but before a Supply could be got to this place from Sir In<sup>o</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Clair or Governor Sharpe the work (with what few we have) I hope may be near done. Rum too I fear, will be a scarce Article with us.

Pray what will be done with that Company of Byrds Regim<sup>t</sup> Ordered to take Post at Edward's and Pearsalls—shall they continue there, or Join their Regiment—I left in consequence of y<sup>t</sup> Orders an Officer & 30 men (Invalids) at Fort Loudoun for safety of the Stores &c lodged there, and also a Sergeant and 12 at Pearsalls to secure that Post, and keep open that Road for Expresses (for no more can be expected from so small a command)—Byrd I hope will leave 6 or 8 of his Invalids or bad men at Edward's for the same purpose—

\* The first, second (except the opening sentence), fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth and twelfth paragraphs omitted by Sparks.

There came 28 Waggon to this place with me, and I believe if they were wanted, 10 more might be had upon the St Branch strong and good; but carrying Horses are certainly more eligible for the Service we are destin'd.

I have used my best endeavours to get my men equipd with powder Horns and shott pouches and have procured 330 of the former and 339 of the latter, besides the Linnen ones with which we are compleat.

I have receiv'd a very scanty allowance of Tents to the 5 Companies with me, viz. Sixty nine only, out of these most of the Officers must be supplied, or lye uncoverd—they will readily pay for what they receive if required.—No Bell Tents were sent to us.

My Men are very bare of cloaths (Regimentals I mean) and I have no prospect of a supply—this want so far from regrettg during this campaign, that were I left to pursue my own Inclinations, I would not only cause the Men to adopt the Indian dress, but Officers also, and set the example myself: nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the Woods. Tis an unbecoming dress I confess for an Officer, but convenience rather than shew I think shoud be consulted, the reduction of Bat-horses alone is sufficient to recommend it, for nothing is more certain than that less Baggage will be required, and that the Publick will be benefitted in proportion.

I was desirous of being thus full in my letter to you, how far it may be consistent with good Policy, as there is at least a possibility of its falling into the enemy's hands I know not, but I shall be directed in these Affairs by you—

With very great regard I am, Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> and most H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

*G. Washington*

Sir

Since closing mine of this date a dispute has arose between an Assistant Commissary of M<sup>t</sup> Hoops (namely M<sup>t</sup> Joseph Gailbraith) and I ab<sup>t</sup> Salt—Our stock of Meat is mostly Fresh and he refuses to provide Salt for it—whether it is his duty or not to do it, I can't say—but unless it is done, the men must inevitably be visited with fluxes and other disorders that may render them incapable of immediate service—There is some Salt at this place belonging to Virginia, which I shall make use of till I receive your Orders on this head.

There is one In<sup>o</sup> McCullough here, who woud make an exceeding good Waggon Master, and we shall certainly want one or two, if all the waggons that I have together with those which Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd may bring shoud be detain'd in the Service.

I shoud be glad to know if such persons are allowd, and if they are, how many Waggons each takes charge of, and their pay per day—\*

I am Sir,

with very g<sup>t</sup> regard

y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

To. Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet—Commanding

His Majesty's Forces at Rays Town.

\* Omitted by Sparks.

Camp near Fort Cumberland  
7<sup>th</sup> July 1758.

Sir,

Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd with 8 Companies of his Regiment arrivd here yesterday. He left many sick men behind him as may be seen by the Inclosd return—This diminution, together with the Company posted at Edwards's and Pearsalls reduces our strength considerably.

I am a good deal at a loss therefore to know how to act for the best, since your last Orders for joining you at Rays Town were not positive, and seemd to be given on a supposition that Mr Walker either could not, or was not to supply us with provisions here—your doubts on this head will in some measure, be obviated when you see Mr Walker's letter to me, and the Returns of our provisions which I now send.—If this therefore was your motive for desiring a Garrison to be left at this place and for me to March on to Rays Town with the remainder of the Virginia troops, you will I presume countermand our March to that place for the following reasons—first because 300 Men may, I think, open the Communication to Rays Town with safety (and with much greater ease and convenience that if our whole body marches on incumberd with a number of Waggons—Secondly, it will if the Army is oblig'd to take this rout as I am told from all hands it inevitably must, prevent the fatigues of a Counter March to Men and horses just going upon Service.—Thirdly, it will afford us an opportunity of lodging our provisions and stores here while the waggons may return for another Convoy, & by that means save the great expense of transporting them to Rays Town, and back again, if we should not be able to proceed on from thence—and fourthly, Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd assures me that the Indians with him absolutely refuse to march any other road than this they know.

I was advised to hint these matters to you, and wait the result of your answer before I put the whole in motion—whatever you direct under these circumstances I shall execute with as much punctuality and expedition as in my power—I enclose return of the N<sup>o</sup> of Waggons now at this place, that you may be a judge of y<sup>e</sup> Ex pence.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Dagworthy telling me that Gov<sup>r</sup> Sharpe is to open the road to the Town Creek, which is within 15 Miles of this place and as Maryland has near 200 men here fit for duty, I hope you will be of opinion that they are sufficiently strong to proceed on the Fort Frederick road, without a Reinforcement from us, especially if you will please to consider, at y<sup>e</sup> same time, that they are, in a Manner, covered by the Troops at this place, and those which may be employ'd on the road to Rays Town, on which I shall send a detachment tomorrow. to cut in till I receive your further Orders.

A pretty good stock of liquor came up with the last Convoy—We have no Hay at this place—'twas corn I called forage—We shall have Tools sufficient for opening the Road to Rays town among the artificers of Byrds Regiment, and I enclose a list of what is here belonging to Maryland that you may be able to judge of our Wants.

I am sorry to hear that the Euttawbers have so egregiously misbehav'd themselves—when I write to the Gov<sup>n</sup> of Virginia which I expect may be in a few days, I shall touch on this subject.

I am, Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

P. S. Please to excuse my  
Blotting, my paper is wet.

Camp near Fort Cumberland  
9<sup>th</sup> July 1758.

Sir,

Your favour of yesterday was deliverd me last night—I immediately directed all your Orders to be executed. The Waggon (save those attending the road cutters) go of to day ; three Companies under Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer proceed on the Rays Town Road, which we began to open yesterday ; they carry 6 days prov<sup>n</sup> with them, and are to apply to you for more if that don't suffice—Capt<sup>n</sup> Digworthys & y<sup>e</sup> Marylanders begin to open their road to morrow, and are furnished with 10 days provisions ; but an extraordinary affair has happened in regard to their provisions I mean their having no Flour notwithstanding 6000 and better was included in a Return which I sent you signd by their Commissary—I have been oblig'd already to supply them with 2000 W. of the article and shoud be glad to know if they are entitled to any part of the provisions laid in here by M<sup>r</sup> Walker for the use of the Virginia Troops—under the circumstances they were, I was oblig'd to deliver out y<sup>e</sup> above Flour or see them starve or desert, which they seem pretty much inclined to do as it is—Maj<sup>r</sup> Lewis of my Regiment attends you with 200 men, with whom I have directed Capt<sup>n</sup> Frazer and Walker to proceed to you.

I am, Sir, with great Regard, Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet

Camp at Fort Cumb<sup>d</sup>  
abt 9 Thursday night July 13<sup>th</sup> 1758.

Sir,

Abt 4 O'clock this afternoon—after I had closed my letter to you—I received Information that two men were killed and a third taken prisoner on the Road about a mile from this place. I got the Indians to go, and sent a command of 50 men immediately to the spot, where they took the Track of six Indians and followed them till near dark, when the Indians returned, as did our party also.

They discovered that one of the men killed was a sold<sup>r</sup> of the second regiment, and that the other two were herds going to our grass guard in the most careless, stragling manner, contrary to repeated, and positive orders given to prevent small parties stragling from Camp.

The mischief was done abt 8 this morning—our discovery of it too late to give us a chance to overtake the enemy—I thought it advisable, nevertheless, to give you Intelligence that the enemy are about, and that I expect we shall be pester'd with their parties all this morn, haunting our camps, and watching our motions.

I have apprized Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer, Capt<sup>n</sup> Dagworthy and all our out parties of this murder, that they may be strictly upon their Guard marching—and vigilant in y<sup>r</sup> Camps—

The Inclosd I this instant received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Dagworthy—if it is not in your power to afford him assistance—tis intirely out of mine to do it.

I am with great regard y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

P. S.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Bosomworth &c, are safely arrivd here ; he and

Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd join me in y<sup>r</sup> Complim<sup>ts</sup>

To Col<sup>n</sup> Bouquet—Commanding  
the Forces on Rays Town.

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1758.

Sir,

Your favour of the 11<sup>th</sup> by Doct<sup>r</sup>. Johnston I had the pleasure to receive the same day.—Nothing extraordinary since my last has occurd.

By a party from Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer to this place for provisions I find, they have open'd the road only 6 miles; and that they proceed much slower in this service than I expected: this possibly may arise from the pains they take to make the road good, and from the width of it (30 Feet) which I directed, that two waggons might conveniently go a breast.—If you don't open on your side in this manner, I should be oblig'd to you to direct Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer otherwise,—as it will be useless to have one part wide and the other narrow.

It gave me great pleasure to find you approv'd of the dress I have put my men into. I have really done it from a good intention. Caprice and whim had no share in causing of it—on the contrary, 'tis evident I think, that soldiers in such a dress are better able to carry their provisions; are fitter for the active Service we are engaged in; and less liable to sink under the fatigues of a long march, besides the advantages of contracting, by this means, our Line of march which must extend always in proportion as we are incumber'd with carriages or horses.

I have heard nothing from Capt<sup>a</sup> Dagworthy since he marched; but expect the waggons are at Winchester by this time that I dispatched the same day.—I beg pardon for the liberty I have taken in recommending a letter for Maj<sup>r</sup> Halkett to y<sup>r</sup> care—With most sincere regard, I am,\*

Sir, Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

*addressed.*

Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet—Commanding  
His Majesty's Forces—at  
Rays Town.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

July 16<sup>th</sup> 1758.

Sir,

I was favour'd with your's of the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst. at 11 oClock last night: the Express who brought it informs me he was Fir'd at twice by 6 Indians, and oblig'd to abandon his horse.

There's partys gone from hence towards the enemy's country within these few days; the largest of them (consisting of an officer and 18 Cherrokees) march'd 3 days ago; I always send out some white people with the Indians, and will, to day or to morrow, send an officer and some alert white men with another party of Cherrochees, as you desire it: tho' I must confess that I think these scalping partys of Indians we send out will more effectually harrass the enemy (by keeping them under continuall alarms) than any partys of white people can do; as small partys of ours are not equal to the undertaking, and large ones must be discover'd by their scalping partys early enough to give the enemy time to repell them by a superior Force; and at all events a great probability of loosing many of our best men, and fatiguing many more before the most essential Services are enter'd on; and am afraid not answer the propos'd end.

You are pleas'd to desire my opinion with regard to making an irruption into the

\* Omitted, except one paragraph, by Sparks.

Enemy's Country with a strong party—as such an enterprise at this juncture when we may suppose the enemy have or are collecting their principal force in that vicinity would require a formidable party, the supplying of which with provisions etc immediately, might be difficult ; and the march of such a body so considerable a distance must be discover'd, as they have partys continually watching our motions which would too probably terminate in the miscarriage of the enterprise, and perhaps the destruction of our party, I should think it more eligible to defer it till the army reaches pretty near that country.

I shall direct the officer that marches towards the enemy to be at particular pains in reconnoitring General Braddock's road, tho' I have had repeated acco<sup>ts</sup> of it's wanting such small repairs as can with ease be done as fast as the army can march. It is impossible for me to send out any men to repair it as Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer and Capt. Dagworthy got every Tool for that purpose, I had, if we had tools to go upon the roads, the 2<sup>d</sup> Compy of artificers would no doubt be wanted here, but as it is, I imagine they will be better employ'd w<sup>t</sup> you.

The malbehaviour of our Indians gives me great concern, if they were hearty in our Interest their services would be infinitely valuable ; as I cannot conceive the best white men to be equal to them in the woods ; but I fear they are too sensible of their high importance to us, to render us any very acceptable service.

As the par of Exchange between Virginia and Pennsylvania is by the Laws of the two Provinces settled at 25 per cent, in favour of the former, I apprehend we can have no right to settle on any other footing ; especially as any material deviation therefrom might be productive of very bad consequences.

Since writing the above the warriour of the party of Cherrokees insisted on marching instantly, and that but one white man should go, they are gone, and I have given the white man the necessary orders relative to the roads, etc.

Inclosed is a Return of our provisions ; since w<sup>ch</sup> was made out, the Marylanders drew for 200 men for 10 days.

I am, with great sincerity,

Sir

Your Most Ob<sup>t</sup>. and most hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

Camp near F<sup>t</sup>. Cumberland

19<sup>th</sup> July 1758.

Sir,

Your obliging favour of this date, I just now had the pleasure of receiving.—You make me quite happy by your coinciding in opinion with me, relative to the proposd expedition.—

Capt<sup>n</sup> Dagworthy's party return'd hither yesterday, in consequence of orders from Sir J<sup>no</sup> St Clair forwarded by the Commanding Officer at Fort Frederick.—I have directed him to finish a bridge at this place, which I imagine he will effect by to morrow night ; with his tools I will next day send out a party on General Braddock's road, which I shall be able to reinforce when Col<sup>o</sup> Mercer returns.

I am excessively obligd in the very handsome and polite manner by which you are pleased to give me leave to attend the election at Winchester,—tho my being there on that occasion would, at any other time, be very agreeable to me—yet, at this juncture, I

can hardly perswade myself to think of being absent from my more immediate Duty, even for a few days—however, I will not come to any absolute determination in this matter till I receive answers to some letters on that subject—(which I expect this night or tomorrow) in the mean time I beg you will allow me to subscribe myself with great truth and sincerity,

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> & obligd Servant,

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland, 21<sup>st</sup> July 1758.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Before Col<sup>o</sup> Stephen came to this place last night, I had abandond all thoughts of attending personally at the election in Winchester—determineing rather to leave the management of that matter to my friends, than be absent from my Regiment when there is a probability of its being called upon. I am now much pleased that I did do so.

Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd has given me your letter of yesterday, in consequence I send you a return of the Forage,—and he writes to M<sup>r</sup> Gist concerning Vermilion for the Indians.

We participate in the joy felt for the success of his Majestys arms at Louisburg &c., and sincerely lament the loss of that brave & active Nobleman, Lord How.

We have got the bridge finish'd at this place, and to morrow Major Peachy, with three hundred men proceed to open General Braddock's road,—I shall direct their going to Georges' Creek, 10 miles advanced.—by that time I may possibly hear from you, if they go further, it may be requisite to reinforce the party ; but this matter I suppose will be ordered according to the Rout determind on by the General : for it will be needless to open a road that no use is made of.

Col<sup>o</sup> Stephen gives me some room to apprehend that a body of light troops may soon move on.—I pray your Interest most heartily, with the General, to get my Regiment and self included, in the Number.—If there needs any arguments to obtain this favour, I hope without vanity I may be allowd to say, that from long intimacy and scouting in these woods my men are as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops, that will be employed, and therefore may answer any purpose intended by them, as well as any other body.

The General directs, that the Troops be provided with covers to their locks—where to get these I know not—there is but one possible way of succeeding, and that is by taking the neats hydes, and these will fall short,—the commissaries ask 18/, a piece for them,—I shoud be glad of your advice in this case, as also what will [be ?] done with the waggons expected up in our next Convoy.—I can't say exactly what number there may be of them, but suppose the Provisions, Forage, and stores, cant employ less than 50.

I am, Sir, with great sincerity,

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Please to offer my Comp<sup>ts</sup>  
to M<sup>r</sup> Glen,—& forward a  
Letter herewith sent to  
Maj<sup>r</sup> Halkett.

To Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet—Commanding  
His Majesty's Forces—  
Rays Town.

Camp at Ray's Town, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1758

Sir

The Inclosed came to my hand a few hours after I dispatchd my last by M<sup>r</sup> Frazer. I did not know but it might enable you to determine better, what should be done with the waggons, and therefore send it.—If we are to lye at this place any time, perhaps you may think it advisable to send the waggons down for another Convoy.—I should not choose to propose any thing that might seem officious: but woud it not facilitate the operations of the Campaigne if the Virginia troops were ordered to proceed as far (at least) as the great crossing of Yangyanggans, opening the road and constructing Posts at proper places, as they go. If any use is intended to be made of this road, from such a step, great advantages may certainly be derivd.—In this event, I should be glad to be joint by that part of my Regiment now at Rays Town—

Major Peachy, who commands the working party on General Braddocks road writes me, that he finds little repairs wanting; I shall however direct him (to night) to proceed as far as Savage River and then return, as his Party is rather too weak to adventure further.

All the Indian Parties that went out, are now returnd (save one consisting of three only) without making and discoveries.\*

I beg leave to assure you that I am most sincerely Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

PS.

I enclose a Return of the provisions and stores coming up in the 2<sup>d</sup> Convoy. *addressed.* On His Majesty's Service

To

Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet—Commanding

His Majesty's Troops

Rays Town

Camp at Fort Cumberland

25<sup>th</sup> of July, 1758.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you by Col<sup>o</sup> Stephen, since which I have been favoured with your kind and agreeable Letter of yesterday.—

We have advice that our Second Convoy of seventy odd waggons (contents you were informd of in my last) will be at the South Branch to day, where I expect they will be joint by some waggons with Forage—the number I cant ascertain—and all proceed to this place immediately.—On Friday I shall look for them.

I shall most chearfully proceed to work on any road;—pursue any rout;—or enter upon any service that the General or yourself can think me qualified for, or usefully employed in; and shall never have a will of my own where a point of Duty is required at my hands: but since you desire me to speake, permit me to observe this; that after having

\* A few sentences of this letter, following the words, "I should not choose to propose," etc., are made introductory to a letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> July, only a few paragraphs of which are given by Sparks.

examined all the Guides, and been convinced by them, and every other Person who has knowledge of that country, that a road comparable to General Braddocks (or indeed fit for any service at all, even for carrying Horses) cannot be made ; I own, I say, after this, I should solicit that rout with less warmth—not because difficulties appear in it, but because I should much doubt giving satisfaction in the executive part. I dont know what reports your reconnoitring parties have given, but I have been told on all hands that if any thing is expected there, disappointments will ensue, for nothing can be taken that way without destroying of our carrying Horses, so extreame bad the Hills are.—

I should be extreme glad of one hours conference with you, and that after the General arrives ; I could then much readier determine ;—or, I think I could then demonstrate the advantages of pushing out a body of light troops on this Quarter—I should make a trip to Rays Town with great pleasure, if my absence here could be dispensed with a day or two, and that you can now be a judge of.

We shall need no provisions from you,—this Second Convoy added to what we have, will furnish us with a tolerable good stock.\*

If Major Livingston, or any other officer at this place draws more than one ration, it is contrary to orders published here, and to my knowledge, and ought to be attributed to the Commissary, whose fault chiefly it must be for delivering it.

We have been obligd for the sake of our Cattle to remove our grass guard to Cresaps—15 miles from hence,—there the provisions is slaughtered, and servd out to the guard, and to the Troop of light horse (also at that place)—it is therefore necessary that M<sup>r</sup> Dow, or some other attendant of the Commissary's (or agent Victualler's) should be present and see to the issuing of it.

There were two Commissaries at this place, besides a numerous train of butchers, herds, &c. ; so immensely lazy that I was under a necessity of ordering some of them to attend the guard to keep them out of mischief.—The Commissaries lookd upon the Cattle to be at the King's risque, were therefore easy what went with them—and, in short, gave themselves no trouble on that score till I made one of them attend, to number them night and morning.—

I send you a Return of the two Regiments, and the Maryland Troops, at this place, at the bottom of each Return is notified the number of Tents each Corps has received, and have by them. From thence you may judge of our wants—many of the officers, as I once before observed to you, are in the same condition with the private centinals in regard to tents.

Kelly and Stalnaker (two guides) are on the road with Maj<sup>r</sup> Peachy.—all the rest at this place I have directed to attend you.

It would be extreme inconveniens to me at this time, to Garrison the block house on Rays Town road—having such large Detachments already out—and the Camp duty very hard.

I am with most sincere Regard—

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> very obed<sup>t</sup> and affect. Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

\* This, and the paragraphs succeeding, to the close of the letter, are omitted by Sparks.

fo. 30.

Camp at Fort Cumberland,  
28<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving last night,—I detain'd the party till my adjutants return from Rays Town (which I hourly expected) imagining something by him might arrive, that would require answering by it.

I have inform'd Capt<sup>n</sup> Dagworthy of the Orders for his march, he will depart therefore so soon as he can draw in his Men from the grass guard.

Inclos'd is a return of the tents wanting to compleat the first Virginia Regiment, and I have desir'd Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd to send one for the second Regiment also.—

I shall agreeable to your directions, send back the waggons to Winchester, having receiv'd no orders either from the general or Sir John to the contrary.

Forty six of Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd's Indians left this for their nation yesterday Evening, after having received their presents. I was much surpriz'd to hear of a report spread, and prevailing in y<sup>r</sup> camp, that a party of Shawnesse and Delawares were come into this place—there has not been the most distant cause for such a Report since I came here.—

As I shall have the great satisfaction of seeing you to morrow, will till then, defer entering on the most material part of your letter—In the meantime I beg leave to subscribe myself, with great sincerity,

Dear Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup>. H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

A Return of Tents wanting to compleat five Companys of the 1<sup>st</sup> Kings' Reg<sup>t</sup>. at Fort Cumberland July 28<sup>th</sup> 1758.

|                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------|----|
| Capt. Thos. Waggeners.....                        | 9. |
| Capt. J <sup>no</sup> McNeels .....               | 1. |
| Capt. Henry Woodward.....                         | 1. |
| Capt. Rob <sup>t</sup> M <sup>c</sup> Kenzie..... | 1. |

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Totall.....12.

The above are what are absolutely wanted for the Non Commission'd Officers and soldiers at this place.

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.Camp at Fort Cumberland  
2<sup>d</sup> of August, 1758.

Sir,

Those matters we talk'd of relative to the Roads, has since our parting been the object of my closest attention ; and so far am I from altering my opinion, that the more time and attention I give thereto, the more I am confirm'd in it ; the validity of the reasons for taking the old road appear in a stronger point of view. To enumerate the whole of these reasons would be tedious—and to you who is become so much master of that subject, unnecessary, therefore I will only briefly mention a few which I conceive so obvious in themselves, as must to any unbiass'd mind effectually remove what is objected to General Braddock's Road, and urg'd in favour of a road to be open'd from Rays Town—

Several years ago the Virginians and Pensylvanians commenced a trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and to remove the many inconveniences a bad road subjected

them to, they after reiterated efforts to discover where a good one might be made were found ineffectual, employed several of the most intelligent Indians, who in the course of many years hunting acquired a perfect knowledge of these mountains to attempt it, but these Indians after having taken the greatest pains to gain the rewards then offered for this discovery declared the track leading from Will's creek was infinitely preferable to any that could be made at any other place—time and experience so clearly demonstrated this truth, that the Pennsylvania Traders commonly carried their goods thither by Will's Creek, therefore the Ohio Company in 1753 at a considerable expence opened a road thither—in 1754 the troops I then had the honour to command greatly repaired it as far as Gist's Plantation; and in 1755 it was widened, and completed by General Braddock within 6 miles of Fort Duquesne, consequently, a road that has been so long opened,—so well repaired,—and so often, must be much firmer, and better than a new one, allowing the ground to be originally, equally as good.

But supposing it was practicable to make a road from Rays Town quite as good as General Braddock's, I ask if we have time to do it?—certainly not—surmounting the vast difficulties to be encountered, in making it over such monstrous mountains covered with Woods and Rocks, would require so much time as to blast our otherwise well grounded hopes of striking the long wished for, and important stroke this season; and deferring it to another year, would, I am morally certain, be productive of the most destructive consequences to the Southern, and middle Colonies: for they have to make a noble push towards ending those calamities under which they so long have groined; granted supplies, beyond their abilities—these funds will, in a few months be exhausted, the troops of course disbanded,—their inability and discouragement from so great a disappointment, will prevent their attempting a similar effort against another season; and experience evinces that expence and numbers, must be increased in proportion to our delays.

The Southern Indians have from our bad success and inactivity, long looked upon us in a despicable light, have already committed hostilities on our frontiers, and only wait the result of this campaign to unmask themselves; would be such an acquisition to the enemy as might terminate in our destruction.

The favourable accounts some give, of the Forage on the Rays Town Road being so much better than the other, is certainly exaggerated—greatly,—as every unprejudiced person who are acquainted with both, agree that the only difference between the mountains here, and there is, that those are more inaccessible, and it is well known that in both, the rich valleys between the mountains abound with good food, and those that are stony and brushy are destitute. Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd and the Engineer who accompanied him confirm this truth—and surely the meadows on this road, would greatly over balance the advantage of having grass to the foot of the ridge (on this side the mountain) on the Rays Town Road: and all agree that a more barren road is nowhere to be found than Rays Town to the inhabitants, which is likewise to be considered with the badness of the road.

And the principal objection made to General Braddock's Road is that of the waters to pass—but these very rarely swell so much as to obstruct the passage.—The Yaugh-yaugh-gane which is the most rapid and soonest filled, I with a body of troops have crossed after 30 odd days almost constant rain.—In fine, any difficulties that may arise therefrom are so trivial, that they are really not worth mentioning.—The Monongahila, the largest of all these rivers, may, if necessary, be easily avoided (as Mr Frazer (the principal Guide) informed me, by passing a defile, which I cannot conceive to be so bad as commonly represented; but even that he tells me may be shunned.

It is said again, that there are many defiles on this road—I grant there are some, but know of none that cannot be traversed if found necessary; and I should be glad to know if a road can be had over these mountains not subject to this inconvenience—unless they kept the heights always, and that is impracticable.

The shortness of the road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne by Loyal hanny, is used as an argument in disfavour of this road; and bears something in it, unaccountable to me; for I must beg leave to ask here, if it requires more time, or is it more difficult and expensive, to go 145 miles in a good road already made to our hands, or to cut a road 100 miles in length, great part of which over almost inaccessible mountains,—and—to say, or think, we can do nothing more this fall than to fortify some Post on the other side of the mountains, and prepare against another campaign I must pray Heaven—most fervently—to avert! till we find it impracticable at least to prosecute with prudence the enterprise in hand. We have yet time enough to transport Provisions to last the siege, and to support the Troops that may Winter there, as I shall endeavour hereafter to shew,—at any rate it never can be an argument for opening the other road at this time, because supposing we are not able to do more than construct a Post on tother side the mountains—that Post undoubtedly should be on a road that has the easiest, and nearest communication with the settlements, where supplies are to be drawn from; for to say nothing of the great advantage of water carriage this way, which certainly is immense (as you will find by Doctr Ross's estimation that you shewd me) or of the infinite odds in the goodness of the Roads, which is very evident to all who have travel'd both—either from the inhabitants to the advanced posts, or from the advanced posts to Fort Duquesne. I say, to put these reasons aside (altho they ought to have their due weight) yet this way, as being so much nearer the settlements has much the advantage.—That it is nearer Winchester in Virginia, and Fort Frederick in Maryland, by many miles are incontestable facts; and I here shew the difference of y<sup>e</sup> two Roads to Carlyle; by giving you the distance of the different stages; some of which I have from information only, but believe them to be just.

From Carlyle to Fort Duquesne, by Rays Town.

|                                                                 |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| From Carlyle to Shippensburg . . . .                            | 21 miles.  |
| From Shippens <sup>g</sup> to F <sup>t</sup> Loudoun . . . .    | 24 —       |
| From F <sup>t</sup> Loudoun to F <sup>t</sup> Lyttleton . . . . | 20 —       |
| From F <sup>t</sup> Littleton to Juneattasing . . . .           | 14 —       |
| From Juneatta to Ray's Town . . . .                             | 14 —       |
|                                                                 | <hr/>      |
|                                                                 | 93         |
| From Ray's Town to F <sup>t</sup> Duquesne . . . .              | 100 — 193. |

From Carlyle to F<sup>t</sup> Duquesne, by F<sup>t</sup> Fred<sup>k</sup> and Cumberland.

|                                                                            |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| From Carlyle to Shippens <sup>g</sup> . . . .                              | 21 miles.  |
| From Shippens <sup>g</sup> to Chambers . . . .                             | 12 —       |
| From Chambers to Paulins . . . .                                           | 12 —       |
| From Paulins to F <sup>t</sup> Frederick . . . .                           | 12 —       |
| From F <sup>t</sup> Fred <sup>k</sup> to F <sup>t</sup> Cumberland . . . . | 40 —       |
|                                                                            | <hr/>      |
|                                                                            | 97         |
| From F <sup>t</sup> Cumberland to F <sup>t</sup> Duquesne . . . .          | 115 — 212. |

By this computation there appears to be a difference of 19 miles only, were all the supplies oblig'd to come from Carlyle, it is well known that the goodness of this road is a sufficient compensation for the shortness of the other, as the wreck'd and broken waggons there clearly demonstrate.

I shall next give you my Reason's against dividing the Army in the manner you propose, and after that endeavour to shew how the grass on the other Road can be made proper use of.

First then, by dividing our Army we divide our strength, and by pursuing quite distinct routs put it entirely out of the power of each division to succour the other, as the propos'd new Road, has no communication with the old—Secondly—to march in this manner will be attended with many Inconveniencies; as first if we depart from our advanced posts at the same time, and make no deposits by the way, those Troops who go from Rays Town, as they will be light, having carrying horses only will arrive at Fort Duquesne long before the others; and must, if the enemy are strong there, be expos'd possibly to many insults in their intrenchments from the cannon of the enemy, which they may draw out upon them at pleasure: if they are not strong enough to do this to that Division, we have but little to apprehend from them, go which way,—or how we will—Thirdly, if that Division that escorts the Convoy is permitted to march first, we risk our all in a manner, and are ruin'd if any accident happend to the Artillery—to the stores, &c.—and lastly, if we advance on both roads by deposits we must double our number of troops over the mountains, and distress ourselves by victualling of them in these deposits; besides losing the propos'd advantage, that of stealing a March—for we cannot suppose the French who have their Scouts constantly out, can be so diffident in point of intelligence, as to be unacquainted with our motions when we are advancing by slow degrees towards them.—

Now Sir, the advantage I wou'd propose to make of the Forage along the other path is, to support all the carrying horses that can possibly be collected, and sent that way after we are fortunate enough to lye before Fort Duquesne—here not only the carrying horses: that were used out as such, but officers horses, and even the waggon horses also, may be employed in this service of saddles or packs are provided in the meantime at Rays Town for them to return with.

Great advantages may be deriv'd from such a measure, because as the food of the old road wou'd be entirely eaten up going, and the horses get weak, it wou'd be impossible, that the waggons cou'd return for another convoy; tho' the horses might nevertheless be in a condition to come down light—along a road abounding with Food, and be able to carry up another Convoy giving them two or three days rest at the most convenient feeding places—by this means the waggon horses wou'd be eas'd of the fatigue of bringing down even the empty waggons, which is something along a Road strip'd of the Food—In the condition the horses by this time may be suppos'd to be, they will, I conceive, carry near or quite as much weight on their back as they cou'd draw in a waggon.

From what has been said relative to the two Roads, it appears I think very clearly, that the old one is infinitely better than the other can be made—and, that there is no room to hesitate a moment which to take, when we consider the advanced Season, and little time left to execute our plan in—I shall therefore in the last place offer (as desired) my sentiments on advancing by deposits; the first of which I shoud have been, forgetting at the little meadows wou'd time have permitted, but, as the case now stands, I suppose at the great crossing or great meadows our first must be form'd—the great crossing I esteem the most advantageous post on several accounts, especially that of water,

and security of the passage ; but then, it does not abound in Food as the gr<sup>t</sup> meadows, nor has not so much level land about it fit for culture.

To this latter place a body of 1500 men may march with 300 waggons or carrying horses, (which wou'd be much better) equivalent allow each waggon to carry 800 lbs of flour, and 400 of Salt meat you carry 40 days provisions of the former, and 20 of the latter for 6000 men ; besides your live Cattle, any number of which might, but ought not to be carried for these two reasons—first, they woud destroy your pasturage—and next—your men being employed at work, you woud have none to attend, or guard them.—Your next convoy, which I suppose to consist of 500 provision waggons and all the Army; will, at the above rate, carry 66 days provisions of flour and 33 of salt flesh, besides 6 days which the men may carry on their backs ; as it is supposed the 1500 are to do also, so that you have at the meadows according to this calculation, 113 days Flour, and 56 salt meat, deducting the daily consumption.—Now, to accomplish this in, I allow 26 days ; viz, to the great meadows 8—to unload and return in 6;—Then I allow the army 12 days more to prepare and arrive in ; by which time I apprehend our works may be finishd, and the whole ready to proceed.—

Our next Deposit probably will be at salt lick, about 35 miles from the meadows—to this place I conceive it necessary to send 2500 men to construct some post ; taking 6 days provisions only, which is sufficient to serve them till the Convoy comes up ; against which time I suppose an Intrenchd camp, or some other kind of defensible work may be effected—and from hence I conceive it highly expedient to detach 3000 or 4000 of the best troops to Invest the place, and prevent if possible an Ingagement in the woods which of all things ought to be avoided.—The Artillery and stores may be up from Salt Lick in four days, and from that time I will allow 18 days more for the carrying horses to perform a trip to Rays Town for provisions ; passing along the old path by Layal hanny ; in this time they may do it ; as the horses will go down light ; but what quantity of provisions they can bring up, I cannot say, that depending upon the number of horses fitted out with saddles, &c.

From this state of the matter (which is really a candid one) and from my calculations, in which large allowances are made for the quantity of provisions, as well as for the time of transporting them ; it appears, that from the time the Front Division begins its march from hence, till the whole army gets before Fort Duquesne is 34 days, at which time there will be 87 days provisions on hand, allowing for the consumption on the March ; and that 18 days added to this make 52 in all ; which is required for our operations, and these ought to be finished if possible by the middle of October.—

I have offerd nothing, but what to me appears beyond a probability :—I have nothing to fear but for general service, and no hopes but the advantages it will derive from the success of our operations ; therefore cannot be supposd to have any private interest or sinister views, by any freedom my regard for the benefit of the service on this occasion, has inducd me to use.\*

I am

with very great respect, Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Col. Bouquet.

\* This notable letter is radically changed by Sparks, many paragraphs omitted, etc.

Camp at Fort Cumberland,  
6<sup>th</sup> August 1758

Dear Sir,

The Generals Orders,—or the Orders of any Superior Officer will, when once given, be a Law to me—I shall never hesitate in obeying them—but, till this Order came out, I thought it incumbent upon me to say what I could to divert you (the Commanding Officer present) from a resolution of opening a new road, of which I had the most unfavourable reports, and believe from the height of the hills—the steepness of them, the unevenness of the ground in general—and what above all principally weigh'd with me the shortness of the Season, that it was impossible to open a road in time to answer our purpose.—I am still in this opinion partly from my own observations of the country—and partly from the information of as good judges as any that will be employed. My duty therefore to his Majesty, and the Colony whose troops I have the honour to Command, oblig'd me to declare my sentiments upon the occasion with that candour and freedom of which you are witness: If I am deceiv'd in my opinion, I shall acknowledge my error as becomes a gentleman led astray from judgment, and not by prejudice in opposing a measure so conducive to the public Weal as you seem to have conceiv'd this to be. If I unfortunately am right; my conduct will acquit me of having discharg'd my duty on this important occasion; on the good success of which, our all, in a manner depends.

I have repaired the road over the mountain at this place as Sir J<sup>no</sup> St. Clair desired—I had also sent the 2<sup>nd</sup> Company of Artificers to make bridges on the Rays Town road according to your Orders transmitted by Col<sup>o</sup> Stephen to me.—'Twas yesterday before I could get them in, and to-day they march.

Nineteen waggons came here yesterday loaded with Ball (musket Ball) from Fort Frederick,—18 more left their loads at the Old Town, and are gone back—the first 19 waggons and an escort are gone to bring up their load, and will be here to-day—I can't send you a return of the contents having received none.—

The waggoners are constantly applying for grain—I should be glad if you would direct how I am to act in this case.

Inclos'd is a return of provisions wanting to serve us till our next Convoy arrives from Winchester we have not above 5 days flour upon hand.—I shall therefore send the waggons to Rays Town tomorrow for this article &c.—after they return from the old Town.—

Twelve Tents was the number I return'd for, and they are arriv'd safe.

If you approve of it, I would send 50 men the length of the great ring to way lay the Road thereabouts: I think it the most eligible method of getting a prisoner for intelligence; the enemy are watchful when they are near our garrisons, and it is too far and unsafe to bring one from their own.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

To Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet.

Camp at Fort Cumberland  
7<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1758.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Capt<sup>o</sup> Waggoner with 50 men and 19 Waggons wait upon you for provisions agreeable to my yesterday's return.

A Letter which I have just receiv'd from M<sup>r</sup> Walker tells me, that the Convoy may be

expected at Pearsalls the 15<sup>th</sup> and desires that the escort (already consisting of 75 men) may be reinforced; as the Waggon and Cattle will cover a large space of ground.

Pray what will you have done with those Waggon when they come up, also with these now going for provisions when they return from Rays Town.

I was this Inst<sup>d</sup> favourd with your's per Express. I am not surprizd to hear the Enemy are about, but was greatly so to find them idle so long—I shall this moment send out a party to way lay the road—I am pleased you have directed it, I wrote for leave to do the same thing yesterday.

Inclosd is a return of the shott, &c. that have been brought to this place since my arrival here.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington

To

Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet--Commanding at  
Rays Town.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

13<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1758.

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 9<sup>th</sup> I was honourd with the 11<sup>th</sup>—39 waggons are loaded with stores according to your desire; 8 others contain 160 Bushels of Indian Corn which with 94 delivrd to 47 waggoners returning to you (two bushels to each) and 18 more to the Maryland waggon master takes all the grain we have save about 60 bushels reservd for the light horse, Capt<sup>a</sup> Stewart telling me it was your order he should have grain.

The Maryland waggons under M<sup>r</sup> Long, will go with an escort (intended to reinforce that with the Convoy) from Winchester to Pearsalls for the grain at that place; with which they shall proceed to Rays Town when that Convoy does; according to orders.

We have neither grindstones or intrenching tools at this place.

I offer you my sincere congratulations upon your safe return from Loyal hanning—and upon the discovery of a good road—which I hear you have made.—I am, with very great regard,

D<sup>r</sup> Sir, Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> & most

H<sup>ble</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

13<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1758.

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

The waggons met with all possible dispatch in loading, but being assurd that the horses were not able to return till to day, I did not order them off sooner.—

My soldiers cloathing, unluckily, are sent to this place—if I march that way I shall take them along; with those of that part of the regiment now under my care, since we are likely to make so late a Campaigne of it,

I send Orders to Capt<sup>a</sup> Stewart to detach half his Troop under an Officer to you—they are not yet arrivd from the grass guard 15 miles off.

I wish with all my soul you may continue to find little difficulty in opening your road—I am certain if you find much, you will not have time for any other service this Campaign.

I detachd Capt<sup>n</sup> M<sup>c</sup> Kenzie with 4 officers and 75 rank and file to way-lay the road at the great crossing—from him a serjeant and 4 active woodsmen of my regiment were to proceed to Fort Du-quesne so that I am in great hopes we shall be able to get some Intelligence of the enemy's strength at that place.

I could wish most sincerely that our Acc<sup>t</sup> from the North ward were clearer, and more favourable than they appear to be—If you have any intelligence from Ticonderoga I should be extream thankful for the Acc<sup>t</sup> we have expect<sup>d</sup> hourly to hear that Louisburg is in our hands—pray heaven we may not be disappointed at last,

I transmitted your request of Cattle to M<sup>r</sup> Walker per Express—No Tools are yet arrivd from Fort Frederick—nor have we any minors at this place—there were one or two pretty good ones in my own Company—and where that Company is you are the best judge.

I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup>. H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

P S. I must beg the fav<sup>r</sup> of you to  
forward the Inclosd to Maj<sup>r</sup> Lewis  
it regards the Cloath<sup>s</sup> of my Regiment.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

18<sup>t</sup> Aug. 1758.

Dear Sir,

I am favourd with yours of yesterday, intimating the probability of my proceeding with a body of troops on G.—B—r—d and desiring my retaining, for that purpose, a months provisions at this place, a thing which I should be extreme fond of, but as I cannot possibly know what quantity of provisions may be necessary for that time, without knowing the number of men I may probably march with, and when it is likely we may leave this, I hope you will be pleasd to give me the necessary information on this head.—as also how this place is to be garrisond & what provisions and stores should be left here.

I have talkd a good deal with Kelly upon the nature of the intervening ground, from the new R—d to B—and from what he says I apprehend it impracticable to effect a junction with the troops on the new R—d till we advance near the S—t L—k—which is no great distance from F—D—Q. and how far it may be advisable to send a small body of troops so near the Enemy at so great a distance from the Army without any kind of tools (which is certainly our case) for repairing the Roads, or throwing up any kind of defence in case of need, I shall not presume to say, but I cannot help observing, that all the guides and Indians are to be drawn from hence and that the greatest part of my regiment is on the other road ; so that I have but few remaining with me of the first regiment, and 8 companies of the second, only, whose officers and men can be supposd to know little of the Service, and less of the country, and near, or I believe quite a fifth of them sick.—I thought it incumbent on me to mention these things that you might know our condition ; at the same time I beg leave to assure you that nothing will give me greater pleasure than to proceed with any number of men, that the general or yourself may think proper to Order.—

With regard to keeping out a succession of strong parties on this R—d from the troops here, I must beg leave to observe, that we have not so much as one carrying horse to take provis<sup>ns</sup> out upon—being under a necessity tother day of pressing five horses from

some Country men, (that came to Camp on business) before I could equip Capt<sup>n</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie's party for a 14 days march.—That we have not an oz. of salt provisions of any kind here, and that it is impossible to preserve the fresh, especially as we have no salt neither) by any other means than Barbacuring it in the Indian manner; in doing which it looses near a half, so that a party who receives 10 days provisions will be obliged to live on little better than 5 days allowance of meat kind—a thing impracticable—a great many of Col<sup>o</sup> Boyds men are, as I before remarkd, very sickly, the rest became low spirited and dejected,—of course the greatest share of that service must fall upon the 4 companies of the first regiment.—This sickness and depression of spirits, cannot arise I conceive from the situation of our Camp, which is undoubtedly the most healthy and best air'd in this Vicinity, but is causd I apprehend by the change in their way of living (most of them till now having lived in ease and affluence) and by the limestone water and air,—the sold<sup>rs</sup> of ye 1<sup>st</sup> w<sup>d</sup> be sickly like those of the 2<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> was it not owing to some such causes is these.—

Capt<sup>n</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie's party is not yet return'd—I will advertise you of his discoveries if any are made by him.—

We have reasons to believe that parties of the enemy are about us likewise—yesterday afternoon a waggoner had his horse shot under him abt 3 miles from hence—

The Convoy from Winchester has been detained much longer than was expected—M<sup>r</sup> Walker desired a party to reinforce the escort at Pearsalls (30 miles distant) the 15<sup>th</sup> Inst. which was accordingly sent, but I have since been inform'd that the waggons did not leave Winchester till a few days ago.

We have no Indian goods of any kind here—It gives me great pleasure to hear that the General is getting better, and expected soon at Rays Town.

Col<sup>n</sup> Boyd joins me in his Compliments to you.

I am

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> & most h<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

Dear Sir

This afternoon the party commanded by Capt<sup>n</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie return'd without being able to discover anything of the Enemy's motions, they waylaid the road for several days near the great Crossings and intended to have advanced quite to that Post, had not their provisions entirely spoil'd, notwithstanding every method and the utmost pains for its preservation was taken, some of their advanc'd sentrys had nearly killed a small party of 3 Cherokee Indians, returning from war—this small party went from hence upwards of six weeks ago and this is the 4<sup>th</sup> day since they left Fort Du Quesne, the environs of which they long watchd, at length was obligd to cross the Ohio, where they killd two squaws whose scalps they brought in here, they say there are a good many women and children on that side the river, but very few men either French or Indians at the Fort. Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Kenzie says there is no signs of the Enemy, having been lately on G. Braddocks Road so far as he proceed on it. Serg<sup>t</sup> Scot and 4 private of his party went on to Fort Du Quesne so soon as they return will transmit you any intelligence they may procure.—

I should be extremely glad to receive some bacon or salt provisions of some kind, without which it will be impossible for any party I can send out to answer the proposd end.

The Convoy from Winchester was yesterday at the North River (five days march for them from hence) so that we cannot expect them in less than 5 or 6 days especially as they lost some horses—

I am with regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most ob<sup>t</sup>

Hum<sup>ble</sup> Servant

G<sup>eo</sup> Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland

Aug. 19<sup>th</sup> 1758.

A party of Ab<sup>t</sup> 90 Marylanders under Capt. Beal escorting a few store Waggons, is this Mom<sup>t</sup> arriv'd—I shall forward them to Rays Town tomorrow agreeable to Sir J<sup>no</sup> St. Clairs Orders.

Y<sup>rs</sup> &c

G<sup>eo</sup> Washington—

Camp at Fort Cumberland

21<sup>th</sup> August 1758.

Dear Sir,

Thirty Cuttawba's came here this Evening—and the Convoy may be expected on Wednesday, as it was at Pearsalls last night—

Governor Sharpe I am told will be here in a day or two—I am at a loss to know how he ranks, and whether he is entitled to the command—In the Army he ranks as Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel only—but what his pretensions as Governor in his own Province is, I really don't know, or whether he has any or not.—I should therefore be glad of your advice, being unwilling either to dispute the point wrongfully, or to give up the Command to him if it is my right—Neither of which I would do knowingly—at all events I shall keep it till I hear from you.

I am, Sir

Y<sup>r</sup>. most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>eo</sup> Washington.

To

Colonel Bouquet, Command-  
ing His Majesty's Forces—at  
Rays Town—

Camp at Fort Cumberland

24<sup>th</sup> August 1758

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 21<sup>th</sup> Inst—accompanied by the 20 Pack Horses with about 3000<sup>lb</sup> of salt pork came safe to hand.

I had the pleasure likewise of receiving yours of the 23<sup>d</sup> the Generals happy recovery affords me vast satisfaction, and am glad the New Road turns out so much to your liking.

on dors.  
150 at London  
300 at Phil:  
700 at Winchester  
200 ordered  
1350

The Convoy from Winchester arrived here yesterday in the Evening—they set out with 468 Beves, 9 were killed on the road and 411 were delivered at this place, the rest were lost on the road ; but as the Officer sent immediately back after them we are in hopes the greater part of them will be found—

As only 26000<sup>lbs</sup> of Flour came up (which is not quite a months' provisions for the Troops here) I have according to your Orders detain'd it likewise 90 Beeves, the rest sets out early to-morrow morning as does all the Forage except 60 Bushels of Corn.

When the Convoy got within 6 miles of this place 3 Cuttawba men and 2 squaws contrary to the advice of the Officers, set on before the Convoy for their Garrison, and soon after were fired upon by 10 or 12 of the Enemy who killed Capt<sup>n</sup> Bullen and Capt<sup>n</sup> French and wounded one of the Squaws.—The loss we sustain by the death of these two Indian Warriors is at this juncture very considerable as they were very remarkable for their bravery, and attachment to our interests—particularly poor Bullen, whom (and the other) we buried with Military Honours.—The rest of the Cuttawbas, and what Nottaway's and Tuscaroras that are here sets out to morrow with the waggons for Rays Town.

As we had intelligence of several parties of the Enemy being about I detach'd parties different ways in hopes of coming up, or cutting off the retreat of some of them but without any effect—At same time I reinforced the Convoy with 50 men.

There are several waggons which came up here with the flour, that I am at a loss what to do with—

Serjeant Scot (mentioned in a late letter) this day returned.—He when within 2 miles of Fort Duquesne came upon a few fresh trails making inwards which he followed, apprehending that they were just at hand, till his provisions were expended, and was thereby oblig'd to return without making any discoveries worth mentioning.—I am glad Mr. Chen and Mr. Allen has been able to give you Acc<sup>ts</sup> so agreeable.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Woodward of the first Regiment 3 Subs and 75 Rank and file marches to morrow with 12 day's provisions to waylay the road in y<sup>e</sup> same manner as Capt<sup>n</sup> McKenzie did.

Inclos'd are exact returns of our Strength here.

I am

D<sup>r</sup>. Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup>. Most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup>. Washington.

Camp at Fort Cumberland,  
28<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1758.

Dear Sir,

Your favour by M<sup>r</sup> Hoops has in some measure reviv'd a hope that was almost extinguish'd—of doing something this Campaign—We must doubtless expect to encounter many difficulties in opening a new road thro' bad grounds in a woody Country of which the enemy are possess'd but since you hope our point may be carried I woud feign expect the surmounting these obstacles—'tis a melancholy reflection tho' to find there is even a doubt of success when so much is depending—and when in all Human probability we might have been in full possession of the Ohio by now, if rather than running ourselves into difficulties and expence of cutting an entire new road the distance we have first and last Braddock's had been adopted.

Every one knows what could have been done the old road—few can guess what will be the new, their being not only the difficulties of y<sup>e</sup> Road to encounter, but the chance of a French re-inforcement also, but it is useless to add on this head—I should rather apologise for what I have said.

All the waggons at this place fit for service, comes to you under the escort ordered for M<sup>r</sup> Hoops—

Any Troops not of Virginia, shall be forwarded to you according to Order—and I could wish most sincerely that our rout was fixed that we might be in motion, for we are all of us most heartily tired, and sick of inactivity.—Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd in particular is really ill.

Frazer having left this with the Convoy must be with you e'er now.—I am very glad to hear that your artillery pass the Alligany with so much ease.

A Letter which Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd rec<sup>d</sup> from the Gen<sup>l</sup> of the 19<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> gives room to imagine that the destination of the Virginia troops will be fixed upon so soon as he arrives at Rays Town, as he there expresses a desire of seeing Col<sup>o</sup> Byrd and I there immediately.

M<sup>r</sup> Walker was a long time as he informed me, under doubtful Orders in regard to his purchase of cattle, so that he was obliged at last to pick up what he could get at a short warning; which is I believe, the real reason of the cattle not having so good as they otherwise might be.—

I am, Sir

Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.--

Letter to Col. Washington

August—. 1758

Sir

I had the pleasure of two Letters from you this morning, and as one of them was upon a most important subject, I read it with great attention, as every thing that has been so seriously considered by you deserves my utmost regard, your agreements are clear, and delivered with that openness and candour that becomes a gentleman and a soldier, but give me leave, my dear Sir, to answer you in the same style. At the same time that I was favoured with your letter, I received one from the General with express orders to begin to open the road from this place across the Allegany mountains, and as I shall always observe the directions of a superior officer with readiness, there was no room left to hesitate; in the present case I shall execute them with greater pleasure, as Col. Burd who is this moment arrived from Edmund swamp, whether he had accompanied S<sup>r</sup> John St Clair, assures me that a very good waggon road may be made with ease and speed through the gap that we have lately discovered, and this is the joint opinion of every person who went, they also agree that there are great numbers of fine springs the whole way, and good food for horses so far as they have yet gone, Sir John went forward this morning, and sent me back word by a person coming from Major Armstrong, that as far as he had gone he found the road good, and every other thing answering our expectations I cannot therefore entertain the least doubt that we shall all now go on hand in hand and that the same zeal for the service that has hitherto been so distinguishing a part of your character will carry you by Reas Town over the Alligany mountains to Fort du Quesne.

Yours &c.

Henry Bouquet.

## WASHINGTON TO BOUQUET.

Camp at Fort Cumberland  
2<sup>d</sup> Sept. 1758

Dear Sir

Your Letters of the 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> I was favoured with in the Evening yesterday—not time enough tho to prepare my answer till to day and for safety I have detain'd the Express for the Cover of night—

I enclose you an exact return of all the ammuniion and provisions w<sup>ch</sup> we have at this place that you may be judge what supply is necessary to send here—If the pork is in Keggs of a 100 lb and the flour in baggs they can easily be carried on Horse back ; and I shoud for many reasons, prefer back loans infinitely to waggon's—Tools, powder and lead might also be carried on horse back which woud reduce our number of waggons and facilitate our march greatly—indeed this is absolutely necessary to be done—or else, so small a body as we shall compose, are exposd to many insults, extended in such a manner as a number of waggons must necessarily occasion in our line of March.

If it was possible I coud march with carrying horses only, and those good, I coud be at the place you mention in six days—but if I am incumbred with any number of waggons it will possibly be *sic* and if the teams shoud be bad there is no guessing at the time.

The sick most certainly must go to the general hospital, for we can neither afford surgeons nor medicines from the Regiment to be left for their benefit—and many are not in a condition to move.

I have wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Walker—or person acting in his place for the waggons you desire ; they coud easily have been had on timely notice, but now I cannot promise—in case he succeed I have desird him to apply to Lord Fairfax for an escort of the militia but I can't promise he will get one.

I am extreamely sorry to hear of the miscarriage of y<sup>e</sup> letters ; it may be attended with bad consequences—We have rejoyc'd here on the happy occasion of Louisburg's reduction and I most heartily wish the same success may attend his majesty's arms in other parts.

I shall be very desirous of a conference with the General before I march, as there may be many thing necessary to settle, I shall loose no time in attending him when I have notice of his arrival—

The Officer that commanded the escort from Winchester is detachd 15 miles hence (at our grass guard) so that I cannot just now get the certificates you desire.—I have no person here who can give me any satisfactory acct of the way and distance between the two roads as you desire.

I have heard nothing yet from Capt<sup>n</sup> Woodward's party on Wednesday last serjeant Scot with five men went out once more to try their success at Fort Duquesne—I can answer for his good endeavours but it is not more tedious than dangerous bringing a prisoner such a distance.

Colo Byrd is very ill but desires nevertheless that his compliments may be made to you.

I am

D<sup>r</sup> Sir, Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> Washington.

29<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1758.D<sup>r</sup> Sir

It has been represented to the Gen<sup>l</sup> that is, will be very inconvenient for the Virginia Troops to March along Gen<sup>l</sup> Braddocks Road as their necessities of every kind are at Loyal Shannon (men as well as Officers) and that the advantages proposd on pursuing the old road, viz. that if opening y<sup>e</sup> road it, [*sic*] are very trivial, as this can always be done faster than a body of men can march, (a little repair being wanted only) the General from these considerations seems now Inclind to Order us down by Loyal Shannon—I thought it expedient to inform you of this—being Sir,

Y<sup>e</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>G<sup>o</sup> Washington

To Collo Bouquet

Monday 9 oClock P. M.

Dear Sir,

You will be surprisd (till I give you a reason for it) at receiving a Letter from a Person in the same Camp with you and who has free access at all times to your Tent.—But when I tell you that we were interrupted while conversing on a very important matter, and that I did not certainly know whether I might have another opportunity of renewing the Conversation till you had some how or other settled the point with the General, I flatter myself you will excuse the freedom I now beg leave to use with you.

I don't doubt Sir but you have thoroughly considered the practicability of the scheme you this night mentioned to me and the good or evil consequences to be derivd there from, according to its success—it might therefore seem unreasonable to offer the following crude thoughts, did I not believe you are desirous of hearing opinions—at least—on this occasion.

How far then do you believe our stock of provisions—to say nothing of other matters—will allow you to execute this plan?—will it last till we could reduce Fort Duquesne and march back to the inhabitants—or receive a supply elsewhere?—if it woud do this, the measure may be right; but if it will not, what is the consequence. Is it not neglecting the strengthening of this place—consuming the provisions that shoud support a Garrison here, and abandoning our Artillery either to the Enemy or a general destruction—It appears to me in that light—

Now suppose the Enemy gives us a meeting in the field and we put them to the rout, what do we gain by it? perhaps triple their loss of Men in the first place, tho' our numbers may be greatly superior (and if I may be allowed to judge from what I have seen of late, we should not highten much that *good* opinion they seem to have of our skill in wood fighting)—therefore to risk an engagement when so much depends upon it, without having the accomplishment of the main point in view, appears in my Eye, to be a little imprudent—could we suppose the Enemy woud immediately evacuate their Fort in case of a defeat in the Wood—or as I before observd could we be certain of provisions in y<sup>e</sup> other event, I think not a moments time is left for hesitation—but one or tother of these we ought to be assurd of—you I am sensible stand very little indeed of any of these suggestions—which are thrown together in haste, as I waited till this moment almost, expecting to see you—You will at least pardon this liberty and believe me to be,

Your most obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>G<sup>o</sup> WashingtonTo. Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet.

In June 1792, the Earl of Buchan\* wrote to President Washington, suggesting that America might become a happy and prosperous country, by adopting a policy of non-interference in the political affairs of Europe. He dwelt on the folly of preferring the indulgence of national pride, vanity, and resentment—a warlike policy leading to bankruptcy and misery—to the slow but certain benefits to be permanently obtained by peace and internal prosperity. He also recommended two great objects to the attention of the President: peace and union with the Indians, and national education. In his reply, which is given below, Washington not only shows that non-interference is the American policy, but introduces his favorite scheme of internal improvements which would bind the sections together and make the Republic great as well as prosperous.

My Lord,

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 22<sup>nd</sup> 1793.

You might, from appearances, suspect me of inattention to the honor, of your correspondence:—and if you should, I can assure you it would give me pain.—Or you might conceive that, I had rather make excuses that acknowledge, in time, the receipt of your favors, as this is the second instance of considerable lapse between the dates of them and my acknowledgements:—this also would hurt me—for the truth is, that your favor of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of last Octob<sup>r</sup>. under cover of one from Doct<sup>r</sup> Anderson of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, accompanying the 7<sup>th</sup> 8. 9. 10 and 11<sup>th</sup> volumes of the Bee, did not come to my hands until the 18<sup>th</sup> of the present month.

Having by me the rough draught of the letter I had the honor of addressing to your Lordship in May, I do agreeably to your request, transmit a copy thereof.—It is difficult for me, however, to account for the miscarriage or delay of the original, as it was committed to the care of M<sup>r</sup> Robertson at his *own* request, to be forwarded along with the Portrait of me which (for the reasons therein assigned) a preference had been given of him to take for your Lordship—both of which I expected you had received long since.—

The works of Doct<sup>r</sup> Anderson do him much credit—and when they are more extensively known will, I am persuaded, meet a very ready sale in this Country.—I have taken occasion to mention his wish to a member of the Philosophical Society of this City, who has promised to bring his name forward at the next meeting:—entertaining no doubt of his being readily admitted; as his pretensions are known to stand upon solid ground.

The favorable wishes which your Lordship has expressed for the prosperity of this young and rising Country, cannot but be gratefully received by all its citizens, and every lover of it.—One mean to the contribution of which, and its happiness, is very judiciously portrayed in the following words of your letter, “to be little heard of in the great world of Politics” These words I can assure your Lordship are expressive of my sentiments on this head; and I believe it is the sincere wish of United America to have nothing to do with the Political intrigues, or the squabbles of European Nations; but on the contrary, to exchange commodities and live in peace and amity with all the inhabitants of the Earth; and this I am persuaded they will do, if rightfully it can be done.—To administer justice to, and receive it from every Power with whom they are connected will, I hope, be always found the most prominent feature in the administration of this Country; and I flatter my-

\* Brother to Lord Erskine.

self that nothing short of imperious Necessity can occasion a breach with any of them.— Under such a System if we are allowed to pursue it, the Agricultural and Mechanical Arts :—the wealth and population of these States will encrease with that degree of rapidity as to baffle all calculation—and must surpass any idea your Lordship can, hitherto, have entertained on the occasion.—To evince that our views (whether realised or not) are expanded, I take the liberty of sending you the plan of a New City, situated about the centre of the Union of these States which is designed for the permanent Seat of the Government.—And we are at this moment deeply engaged, and far advanced in extending the inland Navigation of the River (Potomac) on which it stands and the branches thereof through a tract of as rich Country—for hundreds of miles—as any in the world.—Nor is this a Solitary instance of attempts of the kind, although it is the only one which is near completion, & in partial use.—Several other very important ones are commenced and little doubt is entertained that in ten years if left undisturbed we shall open a communication by Water with all the Lakes Northward and Westward of us with which we have territorial connections ;—and an inland Navigation in a few years more from Rhode Island to Georgia inclusively—partly by cuts between the great Bays & Sounds—& partly between the Islands & Sand Banks & the Main from Albemarle Sound to the River St. Mary's.— To these, may be added, the erection of bridges over considerable Rivers, & the commencement of Turn-Pike-Roads as indications of the improvements in hand.—

The family of Fairfax's in Virginia, of whom you speak, are also related to me by several inter marriages before it came into this Country (as I am informed) and since ; and what remain of the old stock are near neighbours to my Estate of Mount Vernon.—

The late Lord (Thomas) with whom I was perfectly acquainted—lived at the distance of sixty miles from me after he had removed from Belvoir (the Seat of his kinsman) which adjoins my estate just mentioned ; and is going to be inhabited by a young member of the family as soon as the house which some years ago was burnt can be rebuilt.

Your Lordship's Most Obed. H<sup>ble</sup> Servant.

EARL OF BUCHAN.

G<sup>o</sup>. WASHINGTON.

Washington's letters to Sir John Sinclair, during the four years following, on the subject of agriculture and manufactures in this country, are of surpassing interest. During this same period another distinguished American was engaged in answering questions relating to American methods of agriculture, and the progress made in establishing government under the federal constitution. In November, 1793, Dr. Manasseh Cutler wrote to Dr. Jonathan Stokes at length on these interesting subjects, in whose letter there is a happy blending of information about woodlands and fallow fields with discussions of the influence of religious toleration and freedom of the press on a people left to govern themselves. The effect of all this correspondence was to promote the reëstablishment of friendly relations between the mother country and the young republic.

*William Henry Smith*

## WASHINGTON AS AN ANGLER

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS DIARIES 1787-89

"All that are lovers of virtue be quiet and go a-Angling."—IZAACK WALTON.

[This paper, privately printed for the Centennial of Washington's fishing excursion during the Federal Convention in Philadelphia, is now issued for the second time with some additions, including President Cleveland's letter accepting the dedication. G. H. M.]

*To Grover Cleveland, President of the United States :*

It is known to me that there have been skilful fishermen, more than one, among the Chief Magistrates of the Nation. Your immediate predecessor has left an unsurpassed record among them, and it is with no ordinary pleasure that those of us who profess the faith and follow the precepts of "The Complete Angler" have been assured that you are inclined to indulge in similar recreation betimes. No good fisherman was ever a bad man, and history will bear out the assertion that the best Presidents have been the best fishermen. No one of the many biographers of the first President of the United States has done justice to the character of Washington in this important feature, and the present publication of extracts from his diaries is intended to be a timely tribute to his fame as a man among men, a fisherman among fishermen, in which it will be no disparagement to you to share. In the first century of this Nation's life he was the first and you have been called to be the last President. I trust that the beginning of the new era will find as good a fisherman as you are in office, and that the line may continue to stretch out, like that of the blood-boltered Banquo, till the crack of doom.

GEORGE H. MOORE.

LENOX LIBRARY, July, 1887.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1887.

*Dr. George H. Moore :*

MY DEAR SIR: Please accept my thanks for the little book you sent me entitled "Washington as an Angler."

I am much pleased to learn that the only element of greatness heretofore unnoticed in the life of Washington is thus supplied.

I am a little curious to know whether the absence of details as to the result of his fishing is owing to bad luck, a lack of toleration of fish stories at that time among anglers, or to the fact that, even as to the number of fish he caught, the Father of his Country could not tell a lie. Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

MR. SPARKS, in his life of Washington, has mentioned the report of tradition, that he displayed in his boyhood a passion for active sports, and a fondness for athletic amusements, which he did not relinquish in mature life. Other writers have repeated this general statement, but no one has pointed out his claim to be recognized as "a Brother of the Angle." Among his manuscripts hitherto unpublished he has left a very interesting record of his recreations at a period of his life when he was engaged in a service hardly less important to his country than that of his military career. Without him there would have been no United States to need a Constitution, and without him no Constitution would have been formed or established. He was the Saviour of his country in peace, as well as in war. As President of the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, he was punctually in his place during the arduous deliberations of that renowned assembly. After a very close application to business for more than two months, the Convention appointed a committee of detail to whom they referred the results of their previous action, with orders to prepare and report them in the form of a Constitution. The Convention then adjourned on Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of July, until Monday the sixth day of August.

It was duly reported in the newspapers of the day that on "Monday last [July 30th, 1787], his Excellency General Washington set out for *Moore Hall*, in order to visit his old quarters at the Valley Forge."

*Moore Hall* was the ancient stone mansion of William Moore, who has been characterized as "the most conspicuous and heroic figure in the County of Chester" in his day and generation. The building is still standing overlooking the Schuylkill and, three miles distant, the Valley Forge. Judge Moore, who was born in 1699, died in 1783, leaving a widow who survived him several years. At the time of General Washington's visit on this occasion, Moore Hall and Estate had already been offered for sale, by the following advertisement ;

"Philadelphia, July 5, 1787.

"TO BE SOLD

*MOORE HALL.*

"The Estate of the late *William Moore*, Esquire, situate upon the river Schuylkill, in the township of Charles Town, in the County of Chester, distant 23 miles from this city.

"The Estate consists of upwards of 600

acres of most excellent lands, 300 of which are arable, the remainder is woodland and meadow.

“The Mansion House is spacious, convenient and airy ; it is situated upon a high and healthy spot, and commands a most delightful view. The Barn is large ; the Stables and Offices are commodious. There is a very valuable Grist Mill on the premises, near the Mansion House, on a never failing stream, called Pickering, running through the estate, and watering a great body of meadow ; this stream empties itself into the Schuylkill in front of the house ; it formerly supplied water for a saw-mill, which might with much ease, and at a little expense, be replaced, and carried on to great advantage.

“This Estate may, with great convenience, be divided into three compact Farms, with a competent portion of arable land, woodland and meadow to each farm.

“For terms, apply to LEWIS WEISS, in Arch street, or PETER MILLER, Esq., in Third street.

“*To be sold by Public Vendue.*

“At the *Old Coffee House* in the City of Philadelphia, on Wednesday the 17th day of October next, at six o'clock in the Evening, if not previously disposed of at private sale \* \* \* [the same premises.]

“Any person inclining to treat for the whole or a part of the Premises, before the day of sale, may know the terms by applying to \* \* \* [as above]. September 17, 1787.

This ancient homestead, known in 1787 as the “Widow Moore’s,” was the objective point of General Washington’s outing, when he set out to visit his old quarters at the Valley Forge. What a flood of recollections must have overwhelmed him as he fulfilled this purpose, and reviewed those scenes of past trials, sorrow and distress in the great light of patriotic hope after the hours of triumph ! The contrast must have been more impressive even than that visit to Lexington, neglected by historians, even of Massachusetts, when in his first vacation as President of the United

States, he "viewed the spot on which the first blood was drawn in the late glorious war," where

"Once the embattled farmers stood  
And fired the shot heard round the world."

But historic places and reminiscences were by no means the only thing in view upon this excursion—perhaps not the main thing. What it all was cannot be better told than in General Washington's own brief sententious records of each day.

"Monday 30th July. In company with M<sup>r</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup> Morris went into the neighborhood of the Valley Forge to a Widow Moore's a fishing at whose house we lodged.

"Tuesday 31st [July]. Before breakfast I rode to the Valley Forge and over the whole Cantonment & Works of the American Army in the winter of 1777-8 and on my return to the Widow Moore's found Mr. & Mrs. Rob. Morris. Spent the day there fishing, &c & lodged at the same place.

Wednesday August 1. Returned ab<sup>t</sup> 11 o'clock with the above Company to Philadelphia.

Friday 3<sup>d</sup> Aug. 1787. Went up to Trenton on a Fishing Party with Mr. & Mrs. Rob<sup>t</sup> Morris & Mr Gov<sup>r</sup> Morris. Dined and lodged at Col<sup>o</sup> Sam Ogden's.—In the evening fished.

Saturday 4th [Aug. 1787] In the morning and between breakfast and dinner fished. Dined at General Dickenson's and returned in the evening to Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden's.

Sunday 5th [Aug. 1787.] Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Ogden's and about 4 o'clock set out for Philadelphia—halted an hour at Bristol and reached the city before 9 o'clock."

These were very notable fishing parties. The companions of Washington were old, tried and constant friends, always true and never found wanting.

Gouverneur Morris, of New York, one of the noblest of her sons, a great man and a good citizen, who could truly say that the welfare of his country was his single object during a conspicuous public career. He never sought, refused, or resigned an office, although there was no department of government in which he was not called to act; and it was the unvarying principle of his life, that the interest of his country must be preferred to every other interest. Such a man was Gouverneur Morris, the inspired penman of the Federal Constitution.

Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, the great Financier of the Revolution, whose services to his country have never been justly appreciated, for his biography has never been justly written.

Mrs. Robert Morris, whose charming face, in the most beautiful and well preserved portrait of a woman ever painted by Gilbert Stuart, smiles on the vain effort of the writer to tell what is the real secret of its winning grace and lasting impression on every visitor to the Gallery of the Lenox Library, which is now its permanent home, and of which it is one of the principal ornaments.

The Widow Moore, the loyalty and devotion of whose husband is the best testimony to her merits. He has left the record in his will—"happy woman, a pattern of her sex, and worthy the relationship she bears to the the Right Honorable and noble family from whence she sprang."

General Philemon Dickinson, a distinguished officer of the New Jersey line, a brother of that famous writer and patriot, who was the author of the "Farmer's Letters," both "Petitions to the King," and the "Declaration of the Continental Congress on taking up Arms in 1775."

Colonel Samuel Ogden, the brother-in-law of Gouverneur Morris, and like Dickinson, a worthy representative of that grand army of the Revolution, whose practical lessons of disinterested patriotism are so full of wisdom and instruction to every true-hearted American.

Truly this was a goodly company for any place or pursuit, with much of profitable entertainment therein for all concerned. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether anything recorded in the annals of angling anywhere can challenge it for distinction, all things considered. Certainly no American fishing party hitherto described can vie with it, for a moment, in historical interest and importance.

Another fishing excursion is mentioned in a later diary of Washington. When he made his great Northern and Eastern Tour, already alluded to, in 1789, Portsmouth in New Hampshire was the extreme point of his journey. While he was there, he was taken out to view the harbor, and to try his skill and luck in salt water. On Monday, November 2d, they went down to the outer harbour beyond the fort and the Light House, where, as he says himself,

"Having lines, we proceeded to the Fishing Banks a little without the Harbour, and fished for Cod; but it not being a proper time of tide, we only caught two, with w'ch, about 1 o'clock, we returned to Town."

There is pretty satisfactory evidence that Washington caught one of

these two codfish himself. Young John Drayton, of South Carolina, who visited Portsmouth in the summer of 1793, makes the following record in one of his letters :

“When the President of the United States was here, instead of wedding the sea as the Doge of Venice does, he may be said to have received a tribute from it ; for, I am informed, he caught a codfish himself, when indulging in one of these parties.”

His visit to Lexington, to which I have alluded, took place on his return towards New York. He had intended to go to that historic locality while he was yet in Boston, but on the day appointed, Monday, October 26th, his record is

“The day being Rainy and Stormy, myself much disordered by a cold and inflammation in the left eye, I was prevented from visiting Lexington, where the first blood in the dispute with G. Brit'n was drawn.”

Returning from Portsmouth, he left that place on Wednesday, the 4th of November, passing through Exeter, Haverhill and Andover, where on the 5th, he was received and escorted by the Hon. Samuel Phillips, Jr., President of the Senate of the Commonwealth and other gentlemen of the town. He made a short visit to Mr. Phillips, who attended him as far as Lexington, where they “dined and viewed the spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with G. B. on the 19th of April, 1775.” His further route was continued through Watertown, and by what was known as the middle road to Hartford, Connecticut. He arrived in New York on Friday, the 13th November.

Future research may or may not reveal particulars of these fishings in the Schuylkill and the Delaware or their tributary streams, the character and weight of the catch, the methods of the sport in those days, and all the incidents which crowd such fleeting hours of charming recreation. I am content to have been the first to claim for George Washington his rightful place as an Angler—a genuine disciple of Izaak Walton.

GEORGE H. MOORE

## THE STARS IN OUR FLAG

There is an idle story current that the stars in the union of our national flag were adopted from the stars in the coat-of-arms of General Washington, the centennial of whose inauguration as President of the United States, then meaning thirteen states, now thirty-eight, is about to be celebrated.

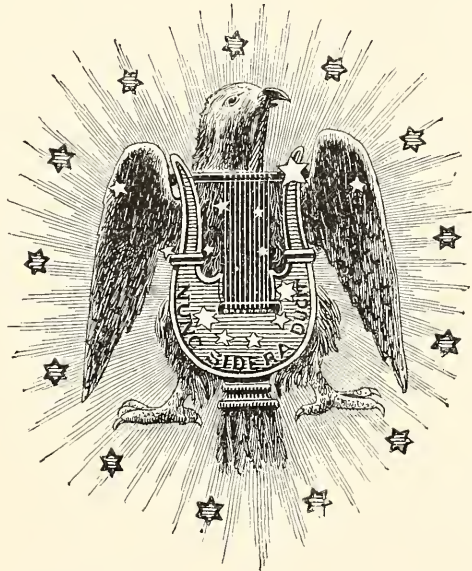
The words of the resolve of Congress inaugurating the stars and stripes, June 14, 1777, as to the union, are: "That the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a *new* constellation." I have underscored the word *new*. This word would indicate that some *old* constellation had been under consideration. Such was doubtless the fact, although only circumstantial evidence of that fact exists. At the time of the alteration of the flag of the colonies, June 14, 1777, eleven months and ten days subsequent to their Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, the union of the flag of the colonies was the union of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue field—the British Union Jack—while the field of the flag was the thirteen stripes, alternate red and white. John Adams, subsequently President of the United States, the father of John Quincy Adams, who was also a President of the United States, was chairman or president of the Board of War in 1777. In possession of his family, as I was informed by his grandson, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, is an heirloom, a seal representing an eagle holding in his beak the lyre of Orpheus, an *old* constellation of thirteen stars, these stars radiating into a circle of thirteen stars, with the motto, *Nunc sidera ducit*, "Now it leads the stars," quoted from the description of the lyre of Orpheus in the *Astronomicon* of Manilius. Through the harmony of his lyre Orpheus is represented as having silenced the vigilance of the regions of Pluto, Hades, or the Shades, returned to earth, and led trees and rocks, vivified by the magic of his lyre, to follow where he led. Deified as a constellation of thirteen stars, his lyre was said to lead these celestial bodies, as it had silenced those of Hades and led the animate and inanimate bodies terrestrial, and whirls the immense orb of the world in its revolutions.\*

\* The language of the poet Manilius is:

At Lyra diductes per cœlum Cornibus inter  
Sidera conspicitur, qua quondam ceperat Orpheus  
Omne quod attigerit cantu, manes que ipsos  
Fecit iter, domuit infernas carmine leges,

John Quincy Adams, when Secretary of State in 1820, substituted for the arms of the United States, on its passports, contrary to the practice of nations, the device above described of the lyre of Orpheus on the Adams heirloom. Under very special personal supervision of John Quincy Adams the lithographic stone for the United States passports bearing this device was prepared with great care by Mr. Stone of Washington, an eminent graver and lithographer. Mr. Stone informed me that Secretary John Quincy Adams would never even hint to him why this change in the passports was made.

When we consider the words of the resolve of June 14, 1777, above quoted, especially the words, "representing a *new* constellation," and



remembering the fact that the drawing of the first flag of the United States, in the State Department at Washington, represents the thirteen stars in a circle, it would seem to be suggested, that John Quincy Adams, by his new device, meant to preserve a silent record of an historical fact, of which, as his father was concerned, modesty forbade a more obvious record. If I be not mistaken, John Quincy Adams meant to show, that his father, John Adams, president of the Board of War, under whose consideration the subject of the flag necessarily came—which perforce had to be made distinctive, as the colonies had become, or at least had declared themselves, independent states—had *proposed*, that the

Hinc celestis honos, similisque potentia causæ :  
Tunc silvas et saxa trahens nunc sidera ducit  
Et rapidi immansam mundi revolubilis orbem.

II., 331-337.

*old* constellation of the lyre of Orpheus, of thirteen stars, away back in antiquity the astronomical emblem of union and harmony, should supplant the union of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the union of the flag of the colonies now become states.\* The thirteen stars of the lyre of Orpheus happily radiated into the union of thirteen stars without the lyre representing "a new constellation" was wisely resolved upon, as it would readily admit of acquisitions as time rolled on. The circle in the drawing of the thirteen stars in the first flag implied endless duration. The war of the rebellion made it a probable fact.

At this time, 1777, hero worship was not in vogue on this continent. George Washington was then not the George Washington of history. In 1777 the Conway Cabal† had taken root and ramified widely, with the intent of supplanting George Washington by General Horatio Gates, whose northern laurels, unjustly snatched from others at the battle of Saratoga, September 19, 1777, and Burgoyne's surrender, October 17, 1777, so soon wilted into weeping willows at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780.

That stars had long typified eminent persons, all astronomy tells, the Pleiades, Castor and Pollux, and above them all, the Star of Bethlehem prove this. Stars in a constellation, as an emblem of a state, I have seen no mention of. Nor yet of a lyre. But the harp of Ireland is historic; so was the celestial constellation of the lyre of Orpheus, and being a constellation of thirteen stars, the exact number of the embryo states, would have certainly made it a seemingly apposite emblem in that respect, and it also was an emblem of union and harmony.

In 1777, on the window-panes of nearly every inn in New England, Sir Thomas Hollis tells us in his memoirs, were scratched the words, "Rebellion to Tyrants is obedience to God." They are over the so-called Regicide's Cave, East Rock, I think, New Haven, Connecticut. They were proposed by Dr. Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and John Adams for the obverse of the great seal of the United States, August 10, 1776.

\* Journals of Congress, 1776, page 248.—"July 4, 1776. Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams, & Thomas Jefferson be a committee to prepare a device for a Great Seal of the United States of America."

Page 321.—Aug. 10, 1776. The above committee reported: "The shield has six quarters, parts one, *coupé* two. The 1st or, a rose, enameled gules and argent for England; the 2d argent, a thistle proper, for Scotland; the 3d verd, a harp or, for Ireland; the 4th azure, a *flower de luce*, for France; the 5th or, the imperial eagle sable, for Germany; and the 6th or, the Belgic lion, gules for Holland, pointing out the countries from which the States have been peopled."

† The *American Encyclopædia*, Vol. 5, page 294, article—Conway Thomas. Under such circumstances, had coats-of-arms been popular, as they were not in the Northern colonies, that of Washington would scarcely have been turned to by a Massachusetts man to furnish an insignia for the new-born nation's flag.

Eminently significant words! They are the closing words of the epitaph inscribed on a cannon which marks the grave of John Bradshaw at Martha Bray, Jamaica, West Indies. John Bradshaw, called by the royalists the Chief of the Regicides, presided by appointment of Parliament over the commission which condemned Charles Stuart, Charles I. of England, to death for violations of the Constitution of England.

The cavaliers were men with coats-of-arms. The Parliament displayed the red cross of England, the armies of Charles I. the royal standard heavy with manifold coats-of-arms.

The New England men were not cavaliers. They drew their types of states from the Bible and from nature. Witness the tree of Massachusetts with the motto, "Appeal to Heaven," the grapevines of Connecticut with the motto, "Qui transtulit sustinet," Who brought us across the ocean will sustain us, the thistle of Virginia with the motto, "Nemo me impune lacesset," No one touches me with impunity. They cast their eyes to the Star of Bethlehem, and saw the stars singing together in God's blue heaven. They looked to God rather than man.

*Schuyler Hamilton*

## A MEMORY OF THE REVOLUTION

General Frazer, who was the right arm of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, was, next to Major Andre, the most interesting character among our foes of the Revolution. He was killed in the decisive battle of October 7, 1777, and was buried under intensely interesting circumstances in a redoubt of his own construction on a hillock in the rear of the British camp. There has prevailed in that section of country a tradition that some sixty or seventy years ago his remains were removed by a party of Englishmen to England. On a visit of exploration to those parts in 1854, I made inquiry into the truth of the story; but the information I received was at heads and points, and very inconclusive on the subject. I suspect that the report grew out of a disinterment of the remains of a British officer, killed at the same time and buried not very far from Frazer's grave, as detailed in a letter dated in 1821, for which I am indebted to William L. Stone, secretary of the Saratoga Monument Association. This I synopsise for the benefit of readers who may be interested in the matter.

One morning, in the autumn of 1821, a carriage drove to the door of a Mr. Schuyler, at Wilbur's Basin, containing one aged and two younger men, who requested permission to dig for the remains of an officer buried on his farm forty-four years before. Having obtained Mr. Schuyler's assent, they procured a large box, and, under the direction of the elder of the party, proceeded to their work. Going to a large elm between the house and the river, this man set a compass, measured a certain distance, and having staked off a plat five feet by eight, ordered the laborers to commence digging carefully, and to stop on reaching any indications of decayed wood or bones. At a depth of about four feet they found such indications. The old man, much affected, then got into the pit, and gently removed the earth from what had been a wooden case about seven feet in length. Beneath this were the apparent remains of woolen blankets, and within them a human skeleton. There were found also two bayonets crossed upon the breast, a silver stock-buckle, a gold Masonic medal, and several musket balls, all of which were identified by the aged man, who with gushing tears gathered them carefully up and deposited them in the box, which was then carried away.

The party dined at Mr. Schuyler's, when the young gentlemen stated that the relics were those of an officer in Burgoyne's army, and that the

aged man was his servant, who with the aid of three soldiers had borne him off the field of battle mortally wounded; that the officer died under that elm tree, and that this faithful servant buried him in his uniform and with the aforesaid accompaniments, wrapping the body in several blankets, covering it with boards and marking the grave from the standpoint of the tree. All this was done in the hope of ultimately removing the remains to England.

After the peace, the servant began to importune the family to search for the bones of his dear master; but they had no confidence in his ability to find them, and the matter lay along, he still entreating, till the grandsons of the officer—the young gentlemen present—decided to gratify the faithful old man with an attempt at recovery. The result is already detailed. But the remains could not have been those of Frazer, whose ashes undoubtedly still rest in the redoubt, where they were laid in the gloaming of October 8, 1777, under the fire of the American artillery and the dust up-thrown by cannon balls over the chaplain and attendant mourners. The burial scene—as described in the Baroness Reidesel's journal—forms one of the most graphic pictures in history. Why have not some of our American artists caught the inspiration of that narrative and endeavored to portray it on canvas?

*Edw. B. Canning*

STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

## TRUTH IN LEGAL INVESTIGATION

### THE TRUE GENESIS OF THE GREAT REFORM

The origin of that change in the law by which the testimony of parties interested in a law-suit is admitted, is brought out with much force, in the recent correspondence between the two well-known American jurists, Honorable Charles Johnston McCurdy and Honorable David Dudley Field. It is information that will interest every reader, whether citizen or lawyer.

There have been edited recently, in England, by Thomas H. Ward, M.A., two volumes of very able articles, furnished by various writers on the advancements and improvements during the reign of Queen Victoria.\* One of the articles was written by Lord Justice Bowen on the administration of the law. After describing the inconsistencies, absurdities, and perversions of justice heretofore incident to the practice of the common law, he goes on to say :

“ Perhaps the most serious blemish of all consisted in the established law of evidence, which excluded from giving testimony all witnesses who had even the minutest interest in the result, and, as a crowning paradox, even the parties to the suit themselves. ‘ The evidence of interested witnesses,’ it was said, ‘ can never induce any rational belief.’ The merchant whose name was forged to a bill of exchange had to sit by, silent and unheard, while his acquaintances were called to offer conjectures and beliefs as to the authenticity of the disputed signature from what they knew of his other writings. If a farmer in his gig ran over a foot passenger in the road, the two persons whom the law singled out to prohibit from becoming witnesses were the farmer and the foot passenger. In spite of the vigorous efforts of Lord Denman and others, to which the country owes so much, this final absurdity, which closed in court the mouths of those who knew most about the matter, was not removed till the year 1851.”

The true history of this confessedly great improvement, credited to Lord Denman and the English Bar, appears as follows :

\* *The Reign of Queen Victoria. A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress.* . . . . In two Volumes. London, 1887.

“LYME, CONN., SEPT. 31, 1887.

HON. DAVID D. FIELD,

*Dear Sir*:—An elaborate work has lately been published, describing in articles by eminent men the wonderful progress of improvements in Great Britain during the reign of Queen Victoria. One article by Lord Justice Bowen relates to the administration of justice. . . . After enumerating many of the wrongs and absurdities of the old system, he says: ‘Perhaps the most serious blemish of all consisted in the established law of evidence, which excluded from giving testimony all witnesses who had even the minutest interest in the result, and, as a crowning paradox, even the parties to the suit themselves.’ ‘The evidence of interested witnesses,’ it was said, ‘can never induce any rational belief.’ . . . . This absurdity was removed in the year 1851, at the instance of Lord Denman, and the act of Parliament allowing parties to testify has always been called by his name. The history of the change in *our* country is of course familiar to you, as you had much to do with it; but I think you will pardon me for directing your attention to it at this time. . . . In the year 1847, when I was holding the office of lieutenant governor and president of the senate of Connecticut, I drafted and introduced into the legislature a bill for a law enabling parties, as well as other persons interested in the event of the suit, to testify in their own cases; but it was violently opposed by the judges and older lawyers, and was rejected. The next year (1848), holding the same position, I renewed the attempt with success. The law went into immediate operation, and won the full approval of the Bar and the public. Soon afterwards (perhaps in 1849) you wrote to me asking the result. This I gave to you, and at the same time stated at some length the prominent arguments in favor of the law. My letter and your own views were published in your proposed Code, reported to the legislature of New York the 31st of December, 1849. In this way the change became generally known and was soon adopted throughout the Union.

When I went to London in January 1851 I took at your suggestion a letter from you to a committee on law reform there, and explained to them the change here, the reasons for it, and the results, in which they seemed to be much interested. At their instance I called on Lord Brougham for a similar purpose. Being at the time especially engaged, he requested me to call again. This I intended to do, but having made my arrangements to leave for Vienna, I did not keep the appointment. You were so kind as to send me a copy of your proposed Code, but I do not now find it. I shall be greatly obliged if you will lend me another, to be immediately returned. Will you please also advise whether it is not just and proper to

put on record the true genesis of that great improvement in one of the most important of all human transactions—the administration of justice?

With great respect your friend,

CHAS. J. McCURDY."

"NEW YORK, Oct. 22, 1887.

*My Dear Sir :*

It was pleasant to receive on my return from abroad a letter from my old friend and co-worker. Extreme pressure of business has prevented my answering sooner. Most certainly it is desirable that everything connected with so desirable a reform as the opening of the doors to truth in legal investigations should be known. I have no hesitation in advising you to 'put on record the true genesis of the great improvement,' in which we led the way. Give the circumstances and the details, and refer to documents, particularly published documents, so far as practicable. I know that the English got the idea from you. It is your right, and, I may add, your duty.

Ever faithfully yours, &c., &c.,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

HON. CHARLES J. McCURDY.

P. S.—I cannot now lay my hand on the pamphlet to which you refer, but when I can do so you shall have it."

"LYME, CONN., Nov. 1887.

HON. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD,

*My Dear Sir :—*I return by mail the book which you were so good as to send me, and thank you for the use of it. I will soon prepare and submit to you a brief statement of the facts, chiefly taken from our letters.

Of course we do not pretend to have originated the idea that parties should be allowed to testify. This had been suggested by Livingston, Bentham, and others. But we may well claim that it was in *our own country* and largely by *our* efforts that the great right was *first guaranteed* to them by statute; that it was under such influences that the crust of inveterate prejudices was *first* effectually broken through, the accumulated unwisdom of a thousand years was set aside, and a reform was established which in some sense revolutionized the administration of justice, and is destined to continue forever.

Very truly your friend,

CHAS. J. McCURDY."

The following is an extract from the report of Messrs. Field and Associate Commissioners to the Legislature of New York, Dec. 31st, 1849, accompanying their proposed Code :

“ In this completed Code, we are for abolishing the remaining portion of the rule of exclusion, and for declaring parties competent as well as others. This has already been done in Connecticut, by a section of the Revised Statutes of 1849, as follows :

‘ No person shall be disqualified as a witness in any suit or proceeding at law, or in equity, by reason of his interest in the event of the same, as a party or otherwise, or by reason of his conviction of a crime ; but such interest or conviction may be shown for the purpose of affecting his credit.’ (Revised Statutes of Connecticut, 1849, page 86, Sec. 141. In the margin of the page the time of the passage of the law is given as 1848.)

One of the Commissioners has taken occasion to inquire into the operation of this law, and has received the following answer on the subject from the Lieutenant Governor of that State, which we think will serve to remove any apprehension respecting the result of a similar law here : ”

“ LYME, CONN., Dec. 10th, 1849.

*Dear Sir :*

I have delayed answering your inquiry, respecting the operation of our law allowing parties in civil causes to testify, partly in consequence of other engagements, but principally for the purpose of enabling me to speak with some confidence on the subject. As the statute is recent, and excepts from its provisions suits pending at its passage, the experiment has not been fully tested. So far, however, as it has been tried, I may safely say, after conversing with eminent gentlemen of the Bar, in different parts of the State, and from my own observation, professional and judicial, that the result is highly satisfactory. So important a change in the rules of evidence met of course, at the outset, a very earnest opposition ; especially (with some distinguished exceptions) from the senior members of the profession. Their fears, I believe, are in a great measure quieted, and I am not aware of any intention or desire to attempt a return to the old system.

Many innovations on the principles of the common law, relating to the admissibility of interested witnesses, had formerly been made in Connecticut. The most common action with us is book debt, and in this the parties and others having an interest in the event of the suit had always been allowed to testify. The action of account at law is still in constant use here, in which the same rule exists. In other cases special statutes had obviated the difficulties arising from the restrictions of the common law,

until it was found that either both of the parties, or one of them, were permitted, or might be required, to testify, in about twenty of the different forms of civil and judicial proceedings. These changes having proved salutary, it was at last deemed safe and expedient to throw open the door entirely. There appears no tendency to go back, and, as soon as the new system is firmly established, I think it will be a matter of surprise that any other should ever have obtained.

It would seem to be a principle of natural justice, that a person whose rights are at stake, should at least have the privilege of telling his own story, and making his own explanations—that he should have the right of saying to the law ‘Strike, but hear.’ Generally he must know more of the facts than anybody else. The objection of course is that his testimony is not to be relied upon on account of his interest. But I think the presumption of falsehood from that cause, in the majority of instances, is not warranted by experience. Such a presumption exists nowhere except in a tribunal of justice. In the daily transactions of life it finds no place. Business could hardly be done, or society be held together, if men in fact lied whenever it was for their interest. The first persons to whom we ordinarily go, in searching for the true facts of an occurrence, are the parties themselves.

I doubt again whether the new rule will lead to an increase of perjury. Men who would be guilty of that crime themselves, can usually find others to commit it for them, especially when there is no danger of a contradiction. This is frequently exemplified in the proof of pretended declarations and confessions.

Nor do I believe it will increase litigation. Many a suit is brought, or defended, solely because the mouth is shut whose voice would be conclusive to defeat or sustain it. Much of the time of courts, and the property of suitors, is spent in settling questions on this subject, and especially the nice distinctions between credibility and competency. The common law is said to be the ‘accumulated wisdom of a thousand years.’ In accumulating its wisdom in this branch, it has probably cost millions of money.

The inconsistencies of the common law, on this point, are too palpable to escape notice. A witness is excluded who is interested to the value of a cent *in the event of the suit*, but is not, if interested to the amount of thousands, or his whole estate, in the *question* at issue. The party himself is excluded, but not his father or child, though their bias may be equal, or their interest really identical. A party claiming to be injured may be a witness in a criminal suit instigated by himself, but not in a civil one for

the same cause, though his feelings, interests and passions may be involved alike in both.

A member of a public corporation, as a town, may testify, but a member of a private one, as a turnpike company, cannot, though each may be interested in the same manner and to the same extent; as, for instance, to avoid the liability arising from a defective bridge. There is a large class of cases where a person interested is admitted, from what is called 'the necessity of the case.' If this means because he is the best or the only witness, why should not the rule be co-extensive with the reason? which would make it universal. But I am expressing opinions and giving reasons, when I suppose you simply expected facts. My excuse is the earnestness of my conviction on the subject. Trusting confidently that here and elsewhere the change will be found a most important improvement in the administration of justice,

I am, very respectfully,

Your friend and obedient serv't,

CHARLES J. McCURDY."

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### TWO INTERESTING LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

*From Originals in the Collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.*

#### [FIRST LETTER]

*General Washington to Lund Washington, who was his agent at Mount Vernon.*

Camp at Cambridge Aug 20<sup>th</sup> 1775.

Dear Lund

Your letter by Captain Prince came to my hands last night. I was glad to learn by it that all are well. The acc't given of the Scotchmen at Fort Tobacco and Piscataway surprised and vexed me. Why did they embark in the cause? What do they say for themselves? What do others say of them? Are they admitted into company? Or kicked out of it? What do their countrymen urge in justification of them? They are fertile in inventing and will offer excuses where excuses can be made. I cannot say but I am curious to learn the reasons why men who have subscribed or bound themselves to each other and their country, to stand forth in defence of it, should lay down their arms the first moment they were called upon.

Although I never hear of the mill under the direction of Simpson without a degree of warmth and vexation at his extreme stupidity, yet if you can spare money from other purposes, I could wish to have it sent to him, that it may, if possible, be set a going before the works get ruined and spoilt, and my whole money perhaps totally lost. If I am really to lose Barnam's debt to me it will be a pretty severe stroke upon the back of Adams, and the Expense I am led into by that confounded fellow Simpson, and necessarily so in starting my lands under the management of Cleveland.

Spinning should go forward with all possible despatch, as we shall have nothing else to depend upon if these disputes continue another year. I can hardly think that Lord Dunmore can act so base and unmanly a part as to think of seizing Mrs Washington by way of revenge upon me; however, as I suppose she is before this time gone over to Mr Calvert's, and will soon after returning go to New Kent, she will be out of his reach for 2 or 3 months to come, in which time matters may and probably will take such a turn as to render her removal either absolutely necessary, or quite useless. I am nevertheless exceedingly thankful to the gentlemen of Alexandria for their friendly attention to this point, and desire you will, if there is any sort of reason to suspect a thing of this kind, provide a kitchen for her in Alexandria, or some other place of safety elsewhere for her and my papers.

The people of this government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved. Their officers generally speaking are the most indifferent kind of people I ever saw. I have already broke one colonel and five captains for cowardice, and for drawing more pay and provisions than they had men in their companies. There are two more colonels now under arrest, and to be tried for the same offences—in short they are by no means such troops, in any respect, as you are led to believe of them from the accounts which are published, but I need not make myself enemies among them, by this declaration, although it is consistent with truth. I dare say the men would fight very well (if properly officered) although they are an exceedingly dirty and nasty people. Had they been properly conducted at Bunker Hill (on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June) or those that were there properly supported, the Regulars would have met with shameful defeat, and a much more considerable loss than they did, which is now known to be exactly 1057, killed and wounded—it was for their behaviour on that occasion that the above officers were broke, for I never spared one that was accused of cowardice, but brought them to immediate tryal.

Our lines of defence are now compleate, as near so at least as can be. We now wish them to come out, as soon as they please, but they (that is the enemy) discover no inclination to quit their own works of defence, and as it is almost impossible for us to get to them, we do nothing but watch each others motions all day at the distance of about a mile, every now and then picking off a stragler when we can catch them without their intrenchments; in return they often attempt to cannonade our lines, to no other purpose than the waste of a considerable quantity of Powder to themselves, which we should be very glad to get.

What does Dr Craik say to the behaviour of his countrymen and towns people? Remember me kindly to him and tell him that I should be very glad to see him here if there was anything worth his acceptance, but the Massachusetts people suffer nothing to go by them that they can lay hands upon.

I wish the money could be had from Hill and the bills of exchange (except Col Fairfax's, which ought to be sent to him immediately) turned into cash; you might then, I should think, be able to furnish Simpson with about £300; but you are to recollect that I have got Cleveland and the hired people with him to pay also. I would not have you buy a single bushel of wheat till you can see with some kind of certainty what market the flour is to go to, and if you cannot find sufficient Employ'm't in repairing the mill works and other things of this kind for Mr Roberts and Thomas Holferd, they must be closely employed in making casks or working at the carpenters or other business, or otherwise they must be discharged, for it is not reasonable, as all mill business will probably be at an end for awhile, that I am to pay them £100 a year to be idle. I should think Roberts himself must see, or be sensible of the reasonableness of this request, as I believe few millwrights find Employ'm't, if our ports are shut up, and the wheat kept in the straw, or otherwise for greater security.

I will write to Mr Milnor to forward you a good country bolting cloth for Simpson, which endeavor to have conveyed to him by the first safe conveyance. I wish you would quicken Sapphire and Sears about the Dining Room chimney-piece (to be executed as mentioned in one of my last letters), as I could wish to have that end of the house compleately finished before I return. I wish you had done the end of the new kitchen near the garden, as also the old kitchen with rusticated boards ; however, as it is not, I would have the corners done so in the manner of our new church (those two especially which front the quarter—what have you done with the well ? Is that walled up ? Have you any accounts of the painter ? How does he behave at Fredericksburg ?

I must approve of your sowing wheat in clear ground, although you should be late in doing it, if for no other purpose than a tryal. It is a growing, I find, as well as a new practice, that of overseers keeping horses, and for what purpose unless it be to make fat horses at my expense I know not, as it is no saving of my own horses. I do not like the custom, and wish you would break it—but do as you wish, as I cannot pretend to interfere at this distance.

Remember me kindly to all the neighbors who inquire after

Your affectionate friend

and servant

G. Washington

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[SECOND LETTER]

*General Washington to George Mason, Esqr, of Gunston Hall.*

Camp at Middlebrook,

March 27, 1779.

Dear Sir,

By some interruption of the last week's mail, your favor of the 8<sup>th</sup> did not reach my hands till last night. Under cover of this Mr. Mason (if he should not have sailed &c) to whom I heartily wish a perfect restoration of health, will receive two letters ; one of these to the Marquis de la Fayette and the other to Doctor Franklin ; in furnishing which I am happy, as I wish for instances in which I can testify the sincerity of my regard for you.

Our Commissary of Prisoners hath been invariably and pointedly instructed to exchange those officers who were first captivated as far as rank will apply ; and I have every reason to believe he has obeyed the order ; as I have refused a great many applications for irregular exchanges in consequence—and I did it because I would not depart from my principles and thereby incur the charge of partiality. It sometimes happens that officers later in captivity than others, have been exchanged before them ; but it is in case where the rank of the enemy's officers in our possession, do not apply to the latter. There is a prospect now I think of a general exchange taking place, which will be very pleasing to the parties and their connexions ; and will be a means of relieving much distress to individuals,

though it may not, circumstanced as we are at this time, be advantageous to us, considered in a national and political point of view. Partial exchanges have for some time past being discontinued by the enemy.

Though it is not in my power to devote much time to private correspondence, owing to the multiplicity of public letters (and other business) I have to read, write, and transact ; yet I can with great truth assure you that it would afford me very singular pleasure to be favored at all times with your sentiments in a leisure hour, upon public matters of general concernment as well as those which more immediately respect your own state (if proper conveyances render prudent a free communication). I am particularly desirous of it at this time, because I view things very differently, I fear, from what people in general do, who seem to think the contest is at an end ; and to make money and get place, the only things now remaining to do. I have seen without despondency (even for a moment) the hours which America has stiled her gloomy ones, but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities that I have thought her liberties in such danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have hitherto been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure—and unless the bodies political will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger till within these three months. One beholds with exultation and joy, how effectually we labor for their benefit ; and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing therefore in my judgement can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn to affairs in Europe. The former *Alas !* to our shame be it spoken ! is less likely to happen than the latter, as it is more consistent with the views of the speculators—various tribes of money makers—and stock jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that their avarice and thirst for gain must plunge everything (including themselves) in one common ruin.

Were I to indulge my present feelings and give loose to that freedom of expression which my unreserved friendship for you would lead me to, I should say a great deal on this subject ; but letters are liable to so many accidents, and the sentiments of men in office sought after by the enemy with so much avidity, and besides conveying useful knowledge (if they get into their hands) for the superstructure of their plans is often perverted to the worst of purposes, that I shall be somewhat reserved, notwithstanding this letter goes by a private hand to Mount Vernon. I cannot refrain lamenting however in the most poignant terms, the fatal policy too prevalent in most of the states, of employing their ablest men at home in posts of honor or profit, all the great national interests are fixed upon a solid basis. To me it appears no unjust simile to compare the affairs of this great continent to the

mechanism of a clock, each state representing some one or other of the smaller parts of it, which they are endeavoring to put in fine order without considering how useless and unavailing their labor, unless the great wheel, or spring which is to set the whole in motion is also well attended to and kept in good order. I allude to no particular state, nor do I mean to cast reflections upon any one of them—nor ought I, it may be said, to do so upon their representations, but as it is a fact too notorious that C—— is rent by party, that much business of a trifling nature and personal concernment withdraws their attention from matters of great national moment at this critical period—when it is also known that idleness and dissipation takes place of close attention and application, no man who wishes well to the liberties of his country and desires to see its rights established, can avoid crying out, where are our men of abilities? Why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you—Jefferson, and others; do not form a mistaken opinion that we are about to set down under our own vine and our own fig tree, let our hitherto noble struggle end in ignominy—believe me when I tell you there is danger of it. I have pretty good reason for thinking that administration a little while ago had resolved to give the matter up, and negotiate peace with us upon almost any terms, but I shall be much mistaken if they do not have from the present state of our currency, dissensions, and other circumstances, a disposition to push matters to the utmost extremity. Nothing I am sure will prevent it but the interposition of Spain and their disappointed hopes from Russia.

I thank you most cordially for your kind offer of rendering me services. I shall without reserve call upon you whenever instances occur that may require it, being with the sincerest regard

d' Sir

y<sup>r</sup> most obedient

affectionate friend and servant

G Washington

George Mason Esqr  
Gunston Hall

## THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON

TWO PRIVATE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

*Contributed by Henry T. Drowne.*

*Theodore Foster to Dr. Solomon Drowne.*

Philadelphia, Dec. 20, 1799.—

Dear Sir,

Another Week has Joined itself the First Eternity.—It has been a Week of Hurry with Me—and I have not as I intended commissioned a fair sheet of Paper to bear to my Friend the Greetings of Regard which the Feelings of my Heart

prompt me to wish & pray be conveyed to Me—and the Consequence is I am obliged as last Week only tell you I write in Haste and that I intend doing better—

THE GREAT AND THE GOOD WASHINGTON HAS GONE—He has Left his Life as a Model for the Statesmen, the Heroes and the Patriots of all after Ages. I would send you an Account of the particulars of the Death of this Great Man who Died last Saturday Evening: But you will [see] the whole in the Public Papers. I hope soon to hear from you and that you and yours are well—Accept my best Wishes for you and them and excuse me for writing you only this hasty Scrawl for the Purpose of reminding you of

your sincerely affectionate Friend

Theodore Foster

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*Sarah Drowne to Dr. Solomon Drowne.*

Providence, R. I., December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1799.

My Dear Brother.

To express myself in the old style, I wish you and yours a Merry Christmas and happy New-Year.

To day Rev. Mr. Gano had a Meeting at the Baptist Meeting House, on the occasion.

Rev. Mr. Wilson has celebrated the day for several years. I think the whole world should do it.

Most sincerely do I sympathize with you on  
our very great National Loss, . . . .  
The *incomparable Washington* :—  
Never was, or can be—the following lines better applied.

‘Death ere thou hast slain another,  
Wise, and great, and good as he,  
Time shall throw his Dart at thee ;’—  
Yet his fame shall live till time shall be no more.—

\* \* \* \* \*

Yours Truly,

Sarah Drowne.

To Dr. Solomon Drowne

## MINOR TOPICS

### HENRY CRUGER VAN SCHAACK

Our readers will turn with sorrowful interest to the Notes in the last number (January) of this Magazine, one of which, entitled "Life Long Friendships," was contributed by the late Hon. Henry C. Van Schaack—probably the very last work of his fertile pen. He died on the 18th of December 1887, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, at his home in Manlius, New York, where he had resided some sixty years. He was the son of Peter Van Schaack, the classmate and intimate friend of Chief Justice John Jay, of whom he wrote in "Life Long Friendships." He was born in 1802. He was a lawyer devoted to his profession, with scholarly tastes in many directions, and a typical gentleman of the old school. He was for fifty years the treasurer and a vestryman of the Episcopal Church, president of the Old Settlers' Association of Onondaga county, an active member of the old Whig party for many years, and subsequently of the Republican party, but always declined any office associated with remuneration, preferring the practice of his profession, the enjoyment of his literary pursuits and the surroundings of a most happy household. He was on terms of great intimacy and friendship with President Fillmore, and yet would accept no evidence of his favor by an appointment, except the placing of his son as a cadet at West Point.

He was excessively fond of historic studies, and a vigorous writer on many historic themes. He published a *Life of Henry Cruger*, the first American representative in the British Parliament, *An Old Kinderhook Mansion*, and *A History of Manlius*, also the life and letters of his illustrious father, Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., of which latter work President Van Buren wrote: "I commend the good taste, sound sense and unusual ability which you have displayed in writing the life of your distinguished father, Peter Van Schaack."

He has been a frequent contributor to the *Magazine of American History*, one of his more recent papers having been published in its September issue of 1887. He has addressed the New York Historical Society and other public bodies at various periods, and his perfect knowledge of the men and times of which he spoke always commanded profound attention and favor. He was an honorary member of many historical societies whose libraries he enriched from his plentiful store of treasures. He possessed a remarkable collection of autographs of distinguished American revolutionary characters; it is believed to be one of the most interesting and extensive in the country, being made up not of signatures only, but of letters, nearly all of which are connected with interesting revolutionary and governmental matters. Inheriting many of these from his ancestors and diligently procuring others by exchange and purchase, he has found the greatest pleasure in the pursuit.

At an early age Mr. Van Schaack acquired a reputation for candor and integ-

city which he never lost. It is said that as a lawyer and lover of his chosen profession, he was indefatigable in the cause of his client, and always appeared in court thoroughly prepared. By his high sense of justice and honor, he maintained the respect of his opponents in all his legal controversies. Descended from a family of lawyers, his professional learning was of the highest order, and the purity and uprightness of his practice was apparent to all his legal associates.

### ADDRESS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, AUGUST 17, 1790

FROM THE HEBREW CONGREGATION, NEWPORT RHODE ISLAND

On Saturday, August 14, 1790, the President sailed from New York, on a visit to Rhode Island, accompanied by Governor George Clinton, Thomas Jefferson, Judge John Blair, Senator Theodore Foster, William Smith, representative from South Carolina, and Nicholas Gilman of New Hampshire, Colonel Humphreys, Major Jackson and Mr. Nelson. He arrived at Newport on Tuesday, August 17, where he was welcomed by a salute of cannon and escorted by a large procession of the citizens. In the afternoon he partook of an elegant dinner at the State House. The next morning he was formally addressed by the town, the clergy, and the society of Free Masons. The following address of the Hebrews does not appear in *Washington's Writings* edited by Sparks :

“To the President of the United States of America

Sir,

Permit the Children of the Stock of Abraham to approach you with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merits—and to join with our fellow Citizens in welcoming you to New Port

With pleasure we reflect on those days—those days of difficulty and danger, when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword—shielded your head on the day of battle : and we rejoice to think, that the same spirit who rested in the bosom of the greatly beloved Daniel, enabling him to preside over the Provinces of the Babylonish Empire, rests and will ever rest upon you, enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of Chief Magistrate in these States

Deprived as we heretofore have been of the invaluable rights of free Citizens, we now (with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty disposer of all events) behold a Government erected by the Majesty of the People—a Government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance—but generously affording to All, liberty of conscience, and immunities of Citizenship—deeming every one of whatever nation, tongue or language equal parts of the great govermental machine. This so ample and extensive Federal Union whose basis is Philanthropy, Mutual Confidence and Publick virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God, who ruleth in the Armies of Heaven and among the Inhabitants of the Earth, doing whatsoever seemeth him good.

For all the Blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal

and benign administration, We desire to send up our thanks to the Antient of Days—the great preserver of men—beseeching him who conducted our fore-fathers through the wilderness into the promised land, may graciously conduct you through all the difficulties and dangers of this mortal life :—and when like Joshua full of days, and full of honour, you are gathered to your Fathers, may you be admitted into the Heavenly Paradise, to partake of the water of life, and the tree of immortality

Done and Signed by Order of the Hebrew  
 Congregation in New Port Rhode Island  
 August 17<sup>th</sup> 1790  
 Moses Seixas  
 Warden ”

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PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S SERVANTS AT NEW YORK

“ A COOK,  
 is wanted for the  
 FAMILY of the PRESIDENT OF  
 the UNITED STATES

No one need apply who is not perfect in the business, and can bring indubitable testimonials of sobriety, honesty, and attention to the duties of the station.

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A COACHMAN,

Who can be well recommended for his skill in Driving, attention to Horses, and for his honesty, sobriety, and good dispositions, would likewise find employment in the FAMILY of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.”

The above advertisement was displayed in the *New York Packet* from December 19, 1789, to January 19, 1790, when it disappeared, the President having no doubt secured sober and honest persons.

PETERSFIELD

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WASHINGTONOPLE

NAME FOR THE NEW CAPITAL OF AMERICA.

*To the United States in Congress assembled*

The PETITION of the FEDERAL CITY,

Sheweth,

That your FEDERAL CITY must soon have a Name,  
 And wishes to have one—that may command fame.  
 To Posterity let it be full handed down,  
 Superior to each paltry City, or Toun—  
 And to please every Son of a great and free People,  
 Pray let it be christen'd plain WASHINGTONOPLE.

—*N. Y. Daily Gazette, August 8, 1791.*

PETERSFIELD

## WASHINGTON'S HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES, OCTOBER, 1783

*(Communicated by I. M. Howe, M.D.)*

An Account of moneys Expended for his Excellency the Commander in Chief's Family, by Cap<sup>t</sup> Bazl. Howe for the Mo<sup>t</sup> of Oct. 1783

|                     |                                                           |                                  |                                                |                  |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Oct 1 <sup>st</sup> | To 3 Nutmeg's 3/5                                         | To 36 lb Soap 1/2.               | 42/                                            | 2— 5— 5          |
| 2                   | To 1½ Bushels Corn 9/                                     | To 2 Bushels Oysters 10/         |                                                | —19—             |
|                     | To 50 lb. Mutton 25/ (3 <sup>rd</sup> )                   | To 83 lb. Butter 124/6           |                                                | 7— 9— 6          |
|                     | To 1 Turkey 4/                                            | To 6½ Dozn Eggs 6/6              |                                                | —10— 6           |
|                     | To 6 Fowles 4/6                                           | To 5 Bushels Oysters 25/         |                                                | 1— 9— 6          |
| 5                   | To 3 Dozn Lemmons 21/                                     | To 4 Fowles 4/                   |                                                | 1— 5—            |
|                     | To 36 lb. Mutton 18/.                                     | To ½ Carrots 2/6                 |                                                | 1— 0— 6 14—19— 5 |
| 7                   | To 9 Dozn Eggs 9/.                                        | To 24 lb. Gammon 24/             |                                                | 1—13             |
|                     | To 22 lb Soap 22/                                         | To 1 Turkey 3/9                  |                                                | 1— 5— 9          |
|                     | To 1 Goose 3/9.                                           | To 48 lb. Mutton 24/             |                                                | 1— 7— 9          |
| 9                   | To Beets 4/6                                              | To 7 Dozn Eggs 7/.               | To Cash p <sup>d</sup> a begg <sup>n</sup> 7/6 | 19— 0            |
| 10                  | To 5½ Nutmegs 30/                                         | To 4 Fowles 4/                   |                                                | 1—14             |
|                     | To Cash p <sup>d</sup> Peggy 22/.                         | To Ditto p <sup>d</sup> Dady 15/ |                                                | 1—17—            |
|                     | To Ditto p <sup>d</sup> Warmesley 30/.                    | To 4 Fowles 4/                   |                                                | 1—14 10—10— 6    |
| 13                  | To 4 Dozn Eggs 4/.                                        | To 45 lb. Mutton 22/6            |                                                | 1— 6— 6          |
| 15                  | To 1 Kegg Beer 7/6                                        | To 2 Turkeys 7/6                 |                                                | —15—             |
|                     | To 6 lb Humey 7/6                                         | To 2 Fowles 2/                   |                                                | —9— 6            |
|                     | To 12 lb. Butter 18/.                                     | To 1 Bushel Beets 5/6            |                                                | 1— 3— 6          |
|                     | To 1 B. Potatoes 3/6                                      | To 5 Bushels Oysters 22/6        |                                                | 1— 6             |
|                     | To 52 lb. Bread 18/.                                      | To 55 lb. Mutton 27/6            |                                                | 2— 5— 6          |
|                     | To Joseph Skeltons Acc <sup>t</sup> Rend <sup>d</sup> for |                                  |                                                | 8—15— 8 16— 1— 8 |
| 17                  | To 22 lb. Gambone 22/6                                    | To 65 lb Bread 22/6              |                                                | 2— 5—            |
| 18                  | To 2 Turkeys 7/6                                          | To 2 Neats Tongues 2/6           |                                                | —10—             |
|                     | To 6 Fowles 4/6                                           | To 16 lb Butter 29/4             |                                                | 1—13—10 4— 8—10  |
| 20                  | To 56 lb. Mutton 28/                                      | To 15 Doz Eggs 15/               |                                                | 2— 3—            |
|                     | To 12 lb. Butter 12/.                                     | To 55 lb Mutton 27/6             |                                                | 2— 9— 6          |
| 24                  | To 44 lb Butter 77/                                       | To 3 Dozn Fowles 27/             |                                                | 5— 4             |
| 23                  | To 1 Turkey 3/9                                           | To 6 quire Rapping paper 3/      |                                                | —6— 9            |
| 24                  | To 23 lb Gammon 23/.                                      | To 1 Goose 3/9                   |                                                | 1— 6— 9          |
|                     | To 1 Bushel Potatoes 3/9                                  | To 1 Pigg 5/6                    |                                                | 9— 3 11—19— 3    |
|                     |                                                           |                                  |                                                | <u>£57—19— 8</u> |

## NOTES

BARRELS OF SAND MARKED AS POWDER. WASHINGTON'S EXPERIENCE AT CAMBRIDGE IN 1775—The following extract from Edward Everett Hale's recent "Life of Washington" will be read with much interest in connection with Washington's private letter to Lund Washington, to be found on another page of this magazine. Mr. Hale says: "It would be difficult for the most dashing young marshal of the Napoleon school to have contrived more, and to have done more than Washington did in the eight months between his arrival in Cambridge and the departure of Howe from Boston. The history of those months is indeed dramatic. First of all there comes the terrible revelation that he and his army were almost entirely without powder. It is said that he was silent a long time after this revelation was made to him, and well may it have been that none of the gentlemen around him dared to break this silence. It is not yet fully explained how the misunderstanding took place by which he and the other officers in chief command had been deceived. It would seem that an effort had been made to conceal from the guards themselves the small amount of powder in the storehouses. This was an effort dictated by the finest military insight and is highly creditable to Ward, or whoever carried it into effect. In the execution of this plan, barrels of sand marked as powder had been delivered with the proper amount of parade, from time to time, and had been entered by the unconscious clerks in charge, as if they were the powder which

they should have been. The secret was so well maintained that it deceived even those who ought not to have been deceived. And when for his own use Washington had an accurate statement of the amount of real powder, and the amount of sand, which he had in store, he was literally struck dumb by the revelation. He had not nine cartridges for each man in his army. To begin, then, he had to provide the most necessary munition for modern war, and to provide it in such a way that neither friends nor enemies should know that he was in need. This thing he did. It is interesting now to see how diverse were the stores from which this powder was drawn, but there is hardly a letter in the varied correspondence which does not allude to the need, sometimes of a very few barrels, sometimes of a more considerable amount. A bold dash on Bermuda and another on the Bahamas, brought them some supplies from those islands. In the southwest, Oliver Pollock, acting on his own responsibility, in New Orleans, sent up to Pittsburgh powder from the Spanish garrisons. Here a little and there a little, and by diligent manufacture in the northeastern states, powder, so to speak, dribbled in upon the army, which was powerless without."

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AN IRISH TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON—Whereas on February the 14th, 1783, it pleased kind Providence to confer on Mathew Neely, of Burnally, parish of Tamlaghtsinlagaan, and County of Londonderry, a man child, whose appear-

ance is promising and amiable, and hopes the Being who first caused him to exist, will grant him grace : Also, in consideration and in remembrance of the many heroic deeds done by that renowned patriot, General Washington, the said Mathew Neely hath done himself the honour of calling the said man child by the name of *George Washington Neely*, he being the first child known or so called in this kingdom by the name of Washington, that brilliant western star.—*Londonderry Journal*, April 30, 1783.

W. K.

WASHINGTON AND THE CONNECTICUT TYTHINGMAN—The President, on his return to New York from his late tour through Connecticut, having missed his way on Saturday, was obliged to ride a few miles on Sunday morning, in order to gain the town, at which he had previously proposed to attend divine service. Before he arrived, however, he was met by a Tythingman, who commanded him to stop, demanded the occasion of his riding ; and it was not until the President had informed him of every circumstance, and promised to go no further than the town intended, that the Tythingman

would permit him to proceed on his journey.—*Mass. Centinel*, Dec. 1789.

PETERSFIELD

LIKENESS OF DRED SCOTT—*Editor Magazine of American History*: The Missouri Historical Society possesses the only materials from which a correct likeness of Dred Scott can be produced, but they are perishing rapidly. To save from loss what, if lost, could never be rehabilitated, the society is about to have painted an oil portrait of Scott, life size, on 25x30 canvas, and of considerable merit as a painting. As this negro occupies so important a place in American history on account of the slavery issues with which his name is identified, his portrait is of exceptional value ; and to guard against casualties of every sort by which it might be destroyed, the society desires that some association (preferably), or person, elsewhere, should also possess one; and to this end it consents to the painting of another portrait simultaneously with its own, provided the price (\$150) is remitted before the work is taken in hand.

OSCAR W. COLLET,

*Treasr. Mo. Hist. Soc.*

ST. LOUIS, December 3, 1887.

## QUERIES

HERALDRY—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers enlighten me as to when Heraldry was first introduced into England? What is its early history?

JAMES W. STUART

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

THOMAS LEE AND HIS "UNCLE

WEST"—Thomas Lee died on the passage from England to this country. His widow, her father Mr. Brown, and children Phœbe, Jane, and Thomas, came first to Boston, but settled in Saybrook, Connecticut, in 1641. There are facts which seem to show that this Mr. Brown was Chad Brown who came to Boston in 1638, removed to Providence, and be-

came the ancestor of the important family that founded Brown University. The widow of Thomas Lee married Greenfield Larabee, and, after his death, a Mr. Cornish. Her son, Thomas Lee, in his will, made in 1703, mentions his daughter Sarah, to whom he gives only a remembrance, as he says, "My uncle West took

her as his own, and gave her a grate portion, whereby she is well-provided for all-ready." Can it be ascertained who this "uncle West" was? Can he be found in the Brown connection, or the Larabee, or Cornish families? Address  
Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury,  
New Haven, Connecticut.

## REPLIES

ATHENS OF AMERICA [xvii. 528] — Philadelphia is referred to in *The Time Piece* printed at New York, September 6, 1797, as the "the Athens of America." Boston was so designated, I believe, at a later period.

PETERSFIELD

COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY FIRE COMPANY [xix. 84]—A letter describing a fire at Princeton, dated January 23, was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, of Feb. 1st, 1773; the following extract from it may interest "Sophomore." "Yesterday morning between three and four o'clock, I was awakened by the cry of fire: I immediately arose, and having dressed myself, hastened out and inquired where the fire was. I was informed it was at the house of Mr. Jacob Hyer, at the sign of Hudibrass. I ran immediately to the place, and found the north-east corner in flames without, also the garret within. The College fire engine and buckets being brought, all possible means were used to extinguish the flames, but to no purpose; the fire burnt till seven o'clock, when the whole house

was laid in ashes. Mr. Hyer lost all his winter provisions, beds and other furniture. By the carefulness of the students, Mr. Patterson's house was saved, although adjoining; the roof caught several times, and was put out as often by the help of the fire engine: The students upon this occasion behaved with becoming boldness which does them honour." W. K.

SOME ACCOUNT OF PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG [xviii. 15]—In General Arthur F. Devereaux's interesting paper he mentioned the Nineteenth Massachusetts as having been trained from the start in a discipline as stern as that of Cromwell's "Ironsides." An incident which occurred on the third day of the battle of Gettysburg, in which the Nineteenth Massachusetts bore a conspicuous part, is to the point; so close did Pickett's column approach that Major Edmund Rice of that regiment, now of the regular army, was shot with his foot resting on the body of one of the fallen Confederates, probably the foremost man who fell in that terrible charge.

## SOCIETIES

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its December meeting on the 12th of that month, its president, Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe in the chair.

After the transaction of the ordinary routine business, listening to the reports of committees, appointing several new committees, and the election of new members, an interesting paper was read by Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., LL.D., president of Howard University, Washington, upon "President Lincoln, and the Chicago Memorial on Emancipation." The paper was a chapter, hitherto unpublished, of the movements of the popular mind toward emancipation in 1862, and of the influences brought to bear upon the President to induce him to issue a proclamation declaring the slaves free in the Southern states.

It gave in full detail the steps taken to secure a large public meeting in Chicago to urge the measure, the success attending those efforts; an account of the meeting held in Bryan Hall, the largest auditorium in Chicago, on the evening of Sunday, September 7, 1862, the addresses made; the memorial, and resolutions adopted; and the sending of a committee, of which Dr. Patton was chairman, to Washington to present them to the President. The committee proceeded at once to Washington, arrived there on the 11th of September, and obtained an interview, and presented their memorial and resolutions on Saturday, September 13. The paper gives a vivid sketch of the interview between the President and the committee, and an outline, somewhat filled up, of the arguments presented by the committee in favor of the measure

which they urged, and of the President against it. The President seemed to have considered the question carefully and anxiously in all its bearings, and to desire to test the public pulse by presenting all the objections which were urged to it, and seeing how the committee, or those whom they represented, were prepared to meet them.

The President gave them no indication of his decision or purpose, further than to say to them, "You have done your duty; I shall try to do mine." Ten days later, September 23, there appeared in the papers the proclamation of the President announcing his purpose to issue the proclamation of emancipation to all the slaves of the states in rebellion, on the first of January following. The rest is published and well-known history.

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WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, WILKESBARRE, PA.—The last quarterly meeting of this society for 1887 was held in its rooms December 9, Rev. Henry L. Jones, A.M., in the chair. After the usual business, a valuable paper entitled "The History of the Presbyterian Church in Wilkes Barre," was read by the corresponding secretary, Sheldon Reynolds. This church was Congregational, and under the auspices of Yale College until that distinguished divine Rev. Nicholas Murray, D.D. (best known as "Kirwan") became its pastor in 1829, when it formally adopted the Presbyterian polity, and has since flourished under the auspices of Princeton. This church, organized in 1772, was probably the only Christian organization then existing in Pennsylvania

which owed its origin and maintained its allegiance to the authority of the state of Connecticut. Its history is therefore, like that of most New England churches, a history of the town of Wilkes Barre, and the Valley of Wyoming. A proposition from the Osterhout (Osterhout) Free Library trustees to erect a building for the use of the Historical Society on their present library lot, to carry out the will of the founder of the library, was presented, and an adjourned meeting was called for the 16th of December to consider the matter. At this adjourned meeting the proposition was accepted, and A. T. McClintock, LL.D., Major C. M. Conyngham, Dr. R. D. Lacoe, with Dr. Charles Ingham as member *ex officio*, were appointed a committee with powers to make all necessary arrangements for the society. Thus this active society, which for thirty years has occupied rented quarters for its library and valuable cabinet, will be provided with a permanent home without expense.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, UTICA, NEW YORK, held its regular monthly meeting December 19, President E. H. Roberts in the chair.

A large audience was present to hear Dr. Smith Baker read a paper on "The Life and Influence of Rev. Beriah Green," a noted Abolitionist of Oneida County at a time when it required nerve to entertain such views. Hon. Frederick Cook, Secretary of the state, and William Carey Jones, corresponding secretary of the California Historical Society, were elected corresponding members; and Professor Charles A. Borst, of Hamilton College, was proposed as a resident member. On motion of Alexander Seward,

Gen. C. W. Darling, Gen. Sylvester Deering, Gen. R. U. Sherman, Col. I. J. Gray, and Col. J. T. Watson, were named to represent the society at the semi-centennial celebration of the Utica Citizens' Corps, a military organization of Utica, which served through the late war, and furnished many prominent officers for the army. It was then announced that the annual meeting of this society would be held January 10, 1888, when Professor Oren Root, of Hamilton College, would deliver the annual address.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular meeting of this society on the 27th of December, Mr. William A. Mowry read an interesting paper on "Franklin's Diplomacy and its Results." He said that few people realized the importance of the French and Indian War to the colonists. The taxes levied on the English colonists to pay the expense of this war was the primal cause of the Revolution. After touching upon the relations between England, France and Spain in regard to the colonies, the speaker gave the conditions of the first treaty between France and the United States. In that treaty there was a clause stating that France should be a party to every step in the proceedings when a treaty of peace should be signed between England and the United States. When the time came for arranging the terms of the treaty and establishing the boundaries, the responsibility of the proceedings rested mainly on Franklin. France wished that the Ohio River should be the boundary, but Franklin determined that the St. Lawrence River should be the northern boundary. According to his instructions, Franklin was obliged to

consult with France in regard to this treaty of peace, but realizing the importance of obtaining this tract of country for the United States, he disregarded his instructions and presented the treaty to the minister of France signed and sealed, deeming this the only way in which the matter could be satisfactorily arranged. The tract of country thus obtained for the United States is now one of the richest tracts in the country. In conclusion the speaker gave statistics showing the wealth and growing prosperity of the country northwest of the Ohio.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the annual meeting of this society, held on Tuesday evening, January 3, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the present year: Hon. John A. King, president; Hon. Hamilton Fish, first vice-president; John A. Weekes, second vice-president; Hon. John Bigelow, foreign corresponding secretary; Edward F. De Lancey, domestic corresponding secretary; Andrew Warner, recording secretary; Robert Schell, treasurer; Charles Isham, librarian. The annual reports show that the society is free from debt or encumbrances of any kind, and that there is an excellent prospect of securing a building fund of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The president, in alluding to the great loss the society has sustained by the death of several of its members, spoke feelingly of his personal relations with the late J. Carson Brevoort and William H. Neilson.

George W. Smith, William Fearing Gill, J. Bleecker Miller and De Lancey Nicoll were elected resident members,

and Charles H. Russell, Jr., and Frederick Gallatin became members of the executive committee. The fifteenth volume of the Publication Fund Series was announced as ready for delivery to shareholders.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY MASSACHUSETTS—An interesting paper was read before this Society at its meeting, December 7th, 1887, by Rev. William Cheney, descriptive of Dedham in England. The town, he says, bears evident of traces of more prosperous life than now animates its quiet precincts. Dedham is mentioned in Domesday Book. In the 14th century, as early as the reign of Richard II. it was famous for the clothing trade. It is said that at one time almost every house had its loom, where woolen cloth was made by hand. In order to promote this industry there was an old law that every one who died should be buried in a woolen shroud.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of this society was held on Friday evening, December 28th, at its rooms in Madison Avenue, the President, General James Grant Wilson, in the chair. An appreciative audience listened with marked attention to an interesting paper by Dr. Edmund S. F. Arnold on "The Dauphin in France and America." Dr. Arnold discussed the rival claims of Nauendorff and Rev. Eleazer Williams, and after sifting the evidence presented by the respective claimants, drew the conclusion that the title of Nauendorff to the throne of the Bourbons was clearer and more fully substantiated.

## HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

Instrumental music in the early days of New England was regarded as a snare of the devil. Mr. Brooks, in his little work on "Olden Time Music," says: "We do not know whether there were any musical instruments brought over in the *Mayflower*. That little vessel must have been so crowded with tables, chairs, and other articles, judging from the number of things represented to have come in her, that there could not have been much room left for spinets and virginals." He further suggests the propriety of remembering "that in England during the time of Cromwell all the organs in churches had been taken down or destroyed, and musicians forced to leave the country for want of employment. We read in Knight's History of England that 'the Puritans had been so successful in decrying all music except their own nasal psalm-singing that at the Restoration the art seemed to be in an almost hopeless state.'"

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Choirs were not common in New England until about the time of the Revolution, although a few existed in large towns as early as 1750. Mr. Brooks quotes from a writer in the *New England Chronicle* of 1723, who says: "Truly, I have a great jealousy that if we once begin to sing by rule, the next thing will be to pray by rule, and preach by rule; and then comes Popery." Mr. Brooks further tells us the story of an old New England deacon whose duty it was to "line out" the hymn to be sung: "On one occasion, finding some difficulty, from failing sight, in reading the first line, he apologized by observing:

'My eyes indeed are very blind.'

The choir, who had been impatiently waiting for the whole line, thinking this to be the first of a common-metre hymn, immediately sang it—whereupon the deacon exclaimed with emphasis:

'I cannot see at all.'

This they also sang. Then the astonished deacon cried out:

'I really believe you are bewitched!'

On which the choir responded:

'I really believe you are bewitched.'

The deacon added:

'The mischief's in you all!'

The choir then finished the verse by echoing this last line, and the deacon sat down in despair."

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In his annual address before the American Geographical Society, January 10, 1888, Ex-Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, its learned president, held a large and cultured audience in closest attention for two hours with a graphic and instructive review of the "Recent Geographical Work of the World." Commencing with the late discoveries in Alaska, and touching briefly upon the explorations in the ice-bound regions, he passed rapidly over the work done on the American continent, giving a vivid sketch of the progress of exploration among the ancient cities of the Western territories, which, he said, contain the secrets of a civilization which probably antedates the Egyptian pyramids. Three car-loads of relics have been collected among the ruins and deposited in Boston for further

inspection and study by scientists. It is now almost an established fact that what we call the New World was, in reality, the cradle of the human race, and the indications were that a vast civilization had been destroyed by some sudden convulsion of nature. He took his audience on an interesting tour through South America, Africa, China, and Central Africa, and described the researches now in progress at Babylon and Nineveh. He illustrated his address with large maps and with stereoscopic views. Among the maps exhibited was one showing the different courses taken by the Hoang-Ho river, in China, which seems to be the most erratic stream on the face of the globe.

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While the intellectual feast was in progress at Chickering Hall, and the scholarly mind taking in the wonders of two continents from a geographical point of view—on the same evening—the Holland Society was banqueting in the most hilarious fashion at the Hotel Brunswick. Ex-Chief Justice Daly arrived upon the smoky scene in time to make an after-dinner speech on the early Dutch explorers and geographers. But wit, humor, and Dutch eloquence had already been given full play. President Van Vorst, Chauncey M. Depew, Mayor Hewitt, George William Curtis and Secretary George W. Van Sicken were among the speakers. Mr. Depew said that Scotchmen, Irishmen, Englishmen, and in fact all nationalities are “contented to celebrate one anniversary in the year. But that doesn’t satisfy a Dutchman. On the 6th of December he gets himself together and at the St. Nicholas dinner takes a horizontal view of what he is, has, and hopes to be, and it so rouses him that on January 10, about a month afterward, at the Holland Society dinner, he takes another look at himself, and even then is not satisfied; but takes another good look at himself on Easter day. The Dutchman, however, furnishes half the genius which runs this Commonwealth and which runs this city.” Mr. Depew then referred in glowing terms to the noble work done by the Hollanders in the past, their indomitable courage and perseverance in driving back the sea and establishing cities and founding universities and schools upon ground that was once covered by the waves. Mayor Hewitt responded with much pleasantry to the toast of the “Growth in greatness of the Dutch metropolis,” and denied that there could be any growth in greatness without growth in goodness.

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The author of the story “After the War,” which has attracted such marked attention in the December *Century*, is General Joseph Griswold Perkins, the grandson of three Connecticut governors, and the possessor of no little military as well as literary genius of his own. As an officer in the late civil war he had an honorable record. He was one of four—the others being Joseph R. Hawley, Charles E. Bulkeley, and Albert W. Drake—who drew up the first enlistment paper and organized the first war company in Connecticut; and by a singular combination of circumstances he was the last corps commander in the service, closing the series by disbanding the Twenty-sixth Corps. He began his military career in the ranks, but was soon promoted to Governor Buckingham’s staff as assistant adjutant-general, and after many interesting experiences left the army at the close of hostilities with the rank of brevet brigadier-general. In 1862 he and Bulkeley formed Co. L, First Connecticut Artillery, of which he was captain, and his gallantry is well remembered in many instances, notably when the horses failed in the Chickahominy swamp in the retreat under McClellan, where he managed to have the cannon dragged off by hand and saved. Later on he was appointed colonel of the Nineteenth United States Colored troops, and with the advance was among the first to

enter Richmond. His intimate acquaintance with the events of the period of which he writes in his *Century* article, and his striking talent and excellent taste as a story-teller, have scored for him a sudden and we trust an enduring fame in the literary field.

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"The men who have striven to get at the spirit of history have found it by studying the individual." This sentence, culled from the address of Professor Oren Root, of Hamilton College, at the recent annual meeting of the Oneida Historical society at Utica, deserves to be recorded in golden letters. He further said: "Until recently historians have dealt with that which was great rather than small. It is certainly true that there has been an awakening in historical research in this country. The antiquarian is no longer an object for sneers. The world is learning to appreciate the efforts of such men. The historians are striving to gather the facts concerning our early national life. The first incentive to this work is the condition of general historical science. History was, not long ago, merely chronicle. We want flesh and blood, and not the skeleton alone. Local historical research enables us to get at the spirit of things. It is not the crest of the wave that has the tidal force. We must come down closer to the individual, closer to the heart of the people. We have had years enough in America to awaken that passion and pathos of which so much has been written in other countries. I should like to get down a little nearer to the homes and influences of the men whose names adorn history's pages."

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A knowledge of the principles of human actions exceeds in value all other learning, and its importance in adjusting the true nature and measures of right and wrong cannot be overestimated. Secret history is the supplement of history itself and its great corrector. The combination of secret with public history results in a perfection which separately is possessed by neither. Secret history appears to deal exclusively with minute things, thus its connection with great results is too often overlooked. The study of human nature was what rendered Socrates the wisest of men. There is nothing which more thoroughly reveals the individual or unriddles a mysterious event than the trifling incidents that in themselves count as chaff. No pictures of human nature are more useful than those found in friendly correspondence. In reading secret history we are occupied in observing what passes rather than in being told of it; that is we are transformed into the contemporaries of the writers and are enjoying their confidence. They mark the commencements and we the ends, and oftentimes what appears to them uncertain becomes to us unquestionable. We recover what would otherwise be lost to us in the general views of history. The story of a period is never complete without particulars, any more than a dinner is complete without side dishes. The letters of Washington possess a charm that is foreign to stately history—they illuminate the pages of history.

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There are secrets in the art of reading to which attention may be given with profit. It is not always necessary to read the whole of a book. It is often sufficient to seize the plan and examine some of its pages. The ravenous appetite of Johnson for reading is thus expressed in strong metaphor by a certain writer, "He knows how to read better than any one; he gets at the substance of a book directly; he tears out the heart of it." The much neglected preface and index of a book are of more use to the reader than is generally supposed. Some of our great geniuses are experts in art of index-reading. We venerate the inventor of the index. We often learn the character of a work through these sources. Read both preface and index, as the light thus obtained will help to regulate your course as to the amount of time to be devoted to the book.

## BOOK NOTICES

THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, studied anew. By EDWARD EVERETT HALE, 12mo. pp. 392. New York and London, 1888, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Hale has produced a notable work, and one that will grow in public favor the more it is known and read. He has studied the man rather than the hero, and shows the advantages and the disadvantages with which Washington worked through his great career; he has also traced his personal power over men to its actual origin. He says, "Washington in his early boyhood was the companion of gentlemen and used to the manners of the best society of his time; but at the same time, and in the same years, he was sleeping in the log cabins of the west, was carrying out the land surveys of Lord Fairfax with the rough pioneers of the wilderness, and was learning to speak the language even of the savages on the frontier. He was never so far engaged in the study of books as to be withdrawn from the larger study of men and the realities of life. But he knew enough of books to know their value, and, as his later life shows, to use them well. He was accustomed in early life to those personal exposures and hardships which teach a man what is the value of a crust of bread; but he was never hampered by the severe restrictions of poverty, and soon carried the experiences of such a boyhood into the careful management of a large estate. The exigencies of war compelled him in his very youth to serve his country, and so soon as war was over he had the opportunity, which was itself an education, of serving his own Virginia in the annual sessions of her legislature. Of all this the consequence was that when the American Revolution began, he had had, though little more than forty years old, a very wide training among men, knew how they were led and how to lead them. He was not accustomed to have things fail to which he put his hand. In point of fact his determination to succeed is the secret of the success of the seven years that followed."

Mr. Hale makes no effort, for which he is to be commended, to include the history of the whole country in this life of Washington—he claims the right to leave that in the background, and make "such a study of his character as most commonplace biographers make of average men." He has done much more than that, and in the clearest and most attractive style. He uses Washington's own words wherever he can without making the narrative too long. The writings of Washington best known are what we consider public documents. Mr. Hale argues, and justly, that private letters are of much more real importance than public dispatches for the

study of motives and purposes, and for the correct estimate of a great character. He shows that Washington was emphatically a man of the people, who grew up in the midst of the people and understood them well. "A distinguished modern author was asked how it was that he wrote such good English; and he replied that he supposed it was because he never learned to write Latin." Mr. Hale has taken a comprehensive view of his theme, and given actual information to students of the first moment. It is a healthful and an instructive work.

## WASHINGTON AND HIS COUNTRY.

Being Irving's Life of Washington abridged for the use of schools. By JOHN FISKE. 12mo. pp. 618, Boston, 1887. Ginn and Company.

As Washington was the central figure in American history it has seemed impossible for his biographers in the past to write his life without interpolating the history of the country. A marked instance of this appears in Irving's work, and John Fiske in abridging it for the use of schools has gone further, and given a brief outline of the history of America from the early voyages of the Northmen to the close of the civil war. In his preface Mr. Fiske disclaims any "pretense to completeness, even as outlines of history." "I have sought only," he says, "to arrange some of the cardinal events of American history in such wise as to illustrate, in view of what went before it and came after it, the significance of Washington's career." The publishers in their preface lament that the study of history in our schools is so unsatisfactory, and that editors must necessarily and severely condense their statements, thus robbing their books of an easy flow of language quite essential to the general interest and just as agreeable to the child as to the older student. To obviate, in some measure, these difficulties, they have adopted an improved plan—to abridge Irving, and still preserve his inimitable language and retain the vivid interest of the original. They argue that "The life of Washington, a type of the noblest manhood, the central figure in the greatest epoch of our history, will tend especially to fix in the reader's mind the important events of this period."

The first fifty-four pages of the book are devoted to the mention of the chief points in American history prior to the entrance of Washington upon his public career. "But in passing from 1755 to 1781," says the author, "we enter a new world, and the man who did more than any other toward bringing about this wonderful change is the hero of our story—the

modest, brave, far-sighted, iron-willed, high-minded general and statesman, whose fame is one of the most precious possessions of the human race—George Washington." Mr. Fiske has performed his duty in the condensation of Irving's work with discriminating care and in admirable taste. His closing paragraph reads: "The work of 1776 first came to full fruition in 1865; and when this is duly considered, it reveals the moral grandeur of American history, and suggests lessons which we shall all do well to learn."

**LIFE OF WASHINGTON.** By VIRGINIA F. TOWNSEND. Illustrated, 12mo, pp. 267. New York, 1887. Worthington Co.

It would seem as if there was something unusual in the air, when three different lives of Washington come to our table for review in one month—from three great enterprising publishing houses—a sudden awakening as it were to a sense of patriotism that has been for a time asleep. These books are so unlike each other, each having a well-defined character of its own, albeit on the same theme, that they will find widely differing and separate audiences. But the field is broad enough for them all. The third one, now before us, is intended simply and pointedly as an entertaining story for young people. It is light, easy reading, and contains many pleasing illustrations, from Cave Castle in England to the White House in Washington city, although it is well known that our first President never lived in either. The home of Washington's boyhood is illustrated, his first headquarters on Will's Creek, his crossing of the Delaware, his headquarters at Newburgh, the battle of Princeton, his coach, and his Mount Vernon home. The volume also contains several portraits. The author seems to have been careful with the facts of history, and aimed to present the great scenes and crises in the career of Washington in a picturesque and dramatic form. It is a charming gift book, and will be the delight of hosts of boys and girls in the long winter evenings, who through it will doubtless acquire the taste for a more profound study of the man who stands in the foreground of American history.

**THE OLD SOUTH AND THE NEW.** A Series of Letters by the Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. 8vo, pp. 162. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888.

Shortly after the close of the Civil War the author visited the desolated plantations of the formerly prosperous South, and twenty years subsequently he yielded to a desire to renew pleasant acquaintances then formed, and see for himself the wonderful social, industrial, and political changes that have taken place. The result of

his keen observations is embodied in the present volume, and will be read with interest by all who are desirous of understanding the situation as it is presented by the rehabilitated South. The letters touch upon almost all the great problems that have confronted the South in her struggle to rise once more into industrial prosperity and they will be found replete with information and suggestion to the well-informed reader.

**NATURAL LAW IN THE BUSINESS WORLD.** By HENRY WOOD. 16mo, pp. 222. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

In a more costly dress of cloth this condensed statement of the vexed questions of the day has enjoyed a wide circulation, and the publishers are wise in putting it forth in a form more easily accessible to those who are in fact the most deeply interested in its contents. If it could be widely circulated among the more thoughtful of the working classes it would go far to counteract the teachings of the "walking delegate," who is ignorantly doing so much mischief among those who are ready to be led. Combination for mutual advantage is to be commended, but under questionable leadership it instantly loses its dignity and drops to a lower level.

**PRE-GLACIAL MAN.** By LORENZO BURGE. 16mo, pp. 272. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1887.

It is only a few years since children were taught that the world was about 5,000 years old. The volume before us professes to give a history of creation from B.C. 32500 to B.C. 8000, with a history of the Aryan race, beginning B.C. 15000, their rise and progress, and the promulgation of the first revelation, their spiritual decline, and the destruction of the nation B.C. 4705; the inroad of the Turanians, and the scattering of the remnant of the race B.C. 4304 as deciphered from a very ancient document; also an exposition of the law governing the formation and duration of the glacial period, and a record of its effects on man and on the configuration of the globe.

The foregoing is a transcript of a portion of the title page of this volume, merely substituting "beginning" for "commencing," which latter word the author seems to prefer, since he gives it prominence in the queer old-style capitals that adorn the cover.

The volume is, in brief, an attempt to present an amplification of the story of Genesis in the light of modern science. The Bible narrative is most ingeniously searched for evidence to bear out the conclusions of Agassiz, Smith, Sayre, Adhémar and others, and to reconcile it with the discoveries of Layard and other recent students of the more ancient rock-inscriptions. The "Oannes Myth" is not forgotten, and is summa-

ized and duly considered at the close of the volume. Upon the whole, we cannot commend the fanciful character of the illustrations, which are purely imaginary. The effect of such pictures in connection with serious deductions is always weakening to the argument.

The book certainly contains much that is worth considering, and while purely speculative, contains numerous suggestions and deductions which are of interest to the ethnologist.

#### THE POETS AND POETRY OF AMERICA.

By "LAVANTE" (EDGAR ALLAN POE?). 16mo, pp. 33. New York: Benjamin & Bell.

This satire, which cannot of course be a poem, according to Poe, was published in Philadelphia in 1847, and ascribed to "Lavante," whose identity with the author of the Raven was suspected at the time, but we believe never proven. It is now published in a neat pamphlet, with an introductory argument by Geoffrey Quarles, attempting to demonstrate the identity of Lavante and Poe. Of course in the absence of positive proof such an argument cannot be absolutely conclusive, but it is ingenious, interesting and logical, and read in connection with the satire itself, and the copious index and notes, forms an interesting study in literature.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1667-1687-8. Published by authority of the state, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society. Edited by WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. Quarto, pp. 592. Baltimore, 1887: Maryland Historical Society.

This volume is rich in interesting material. It takes up the Council Proceedings from the point where the first Council Book stopped, and continues them from the originals to August, 1674, after which there is a gap of eighteen years in the records. To a very considerable extent this void is filled by documents found in the Public Record office, London, some of which were transcripts from Maryland records, supposed to have been contained in the missing Council Books. These are of great value, as they throw new light on the history of the Province.

The murder of Rousby by Talbot, and the escape of the homicide, about which later tradition has spun a web of romantic fiction, are here mentioned, and have their place in a combined assault of animosity and cupidity upon the Proprietary's rights and territories. We find curious data for the studious in bills of indictment against various persons for "libellous and scandalous words spoken against the present King James," in the records of 1686. One

Giles Porter was accused of calling England's sovereign "A bloody Rogue, for he hath poisoned his Brother, the late King Charles, and he (James II.) began the first invention of the burning of London." The examination resulted in Giles Porter being kept a close prisoner in irons pending his trial.

The papers accompanying Clairborne's petition, and especially the depositions in the suit of Clairborne against Cobery, illumine the darkness that covers the affairs of Kent Island before the reduction. It is now more than ever clear that the settlement there was no plantation, but simply a trading post, established by a firm of London merchants, and managed in their interest. They had no grant of land, but merely a license to trade; nor did the settlers raise their supplies, but depended for these upon traffic with the Indians, and upon their London principals for commodities to maintain the traffic.

These valuable documents are admirably edited, and printed in clear type on good paper with broad margins. The work is priceless to all students of Maryland history.

#### COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY for the Year 1882.

[Publication Fund Series.] Committee on Publications, Edward F. De Lancey, William Libbey, George H. Moore. 8vo, pp. 515. New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society.

The journal of Lieutenant John Charles Philip von Krafft—from 1776 to 1784—forms the first part of this volume, and the original Letter Book of Captain Alexander McDonald, of the Royal Highland Emigrants, 1775-1779, the second part. Von Krafft was born in Dresden, Saxony, in 1752, and is said to have belonged to a baronial family; he was related to many persons of rank in Prussia and Saxony. At twenty-one he was commissioned ensign in General von Luck's regiment of fusiliers in the Prussian army under Frederick the Great, and was promoted the same year. In seeking advancement three years later he resigned his commission, and after visiting Russia and wandering over Europe, he sailed for America, where he served in the Revolutionary war under Von Donop, and later on under Von Bose. He married in New York, and after the government was established under the Constitution, was employed as surveyor and draughtsman to the Treasury Department. In connection with his journal he made several maps and sketches which are reproduced in this volume, notably the plan of the battle of Trenton, with explanations, the battle-ground at Monmouth, the plan

of Red Bank fort, in New Jersey, the plan of the region between Philadelphia and Valley Forge, with the several positions occupied by the British and the Americans, a sketch of New London and Groton-town, and the plan of the military positions on Manhattan Island, all of which are of exceptional historic interest and value. On the 4th of January, 1780, Von Krafft writes: "On *men-guarde* in Wall street." In the same connection he records as follows: "The cold was so intense this winter that the inhabitants could not remember the like for twenty years back. The North River was wholly frozen over, and the East River had an astonishing quantity of floating ice. As, in spite of this, many people ventured out in boats, sad accidents happened almost daily. The wood magazines were emptied, and as we could not get our wood from Long Island on account of the ice, old ships were assigned to all the English and Hessian regiments for firewood. Even then we had only half allowance and the other half was to be paid to us. The Rebels had now the best opportunity to attack us from all sides to the best advantage. We expected it hourly, and therefore the best measures were taken." The volume contains a prefatory note by Thomas H. Edsall, Esq., of Glenwood Springs, Colorado, to whom the New York Historical Society is indebted for the opportunity of making these valuable materials available to the scholar.

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THE KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS OF 1798. An Historical Study. By ETHEL-BERT DUDLEY WARFIELD, A.M., LL.B. 12mo, pp. 203. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Warfield has, in this little volume, completed his able and instructive study of the origin and effects of the famous Resolutions passed by the legislature of Kentucky in 1798, in condemnation of the Alien and Sedition laws, a study which was first introduced into public notice among scholars through a chapter on "John Breckinridge," published in the *Magazine of American History* for August, 1885.

Mr. Warfield presents some very sound and forcible arguments in support of his views about the responsible authorship of the Resolutions. John Breckinridge was the mover of them, and through his thorough understanding of the popular mind of Kentucky at that time, it is just and reasonable to suppose that he was quite equal to the conception and adaptation of them. He consulted Jefferson, as was very natural and proper under the circumstances, but it seems to us that Mr. Warfield has made, an exceptionally clear case for his distinguished ancestor. He certainly has had opportunities for information other than the public documents; but even through these we are impressed with a sense of Mr. Breckinridge's original thought and intent in the phraseology of the Resolutions. Mr. Warfield says in his preface, "Of all the sources consulted none can be compared for interest and importance to the hitherto almost untouched store of manuscripts forming the Breckinridge papers and containing John Breckinridge's literary remains." Mr. Breckinridge, as is well known, was a man in whom the people had a strong and growing confidence, and his successful advocacy in the legislature of these resolutions, made, so to speak, his subsequent political fortunes. Mr. Warfield says, "From the day the resolutions were passed his career was certain, and so long as he lived, certainly after the death of George Nicholas, which was near at hand, he held the first place in his party in Kentucky, both in the eyes of his fellow-citizens and of the leaders beyond the bounds of the state." Mr. Warfield does not claim to have reached the final solution of the problems of authorship and interpretation, but he handles the evidence with such lawyer-like and convincing candor that his personal belief in the matter is conspicuously apparent. In his chapter on the "doctrines and effects of the resolutions," he shows that great latitude of interpretation may be given, and that the meaning of parts of this political manifesto are very dependent on the special application in view. The work is admirably done, it is a study that abounds in information, and is particularly valuable to young men who are in pursuit of all that relates to our country's past, irrespective of political bias.

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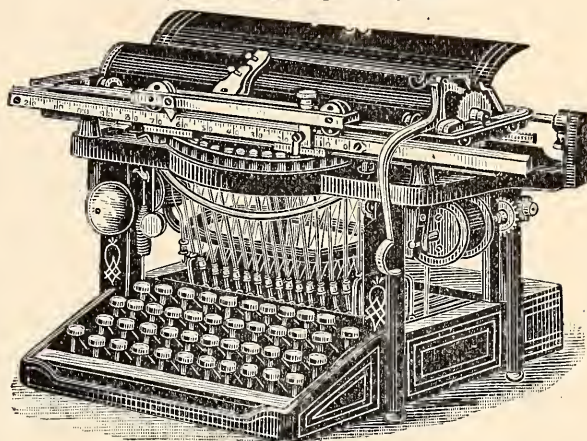
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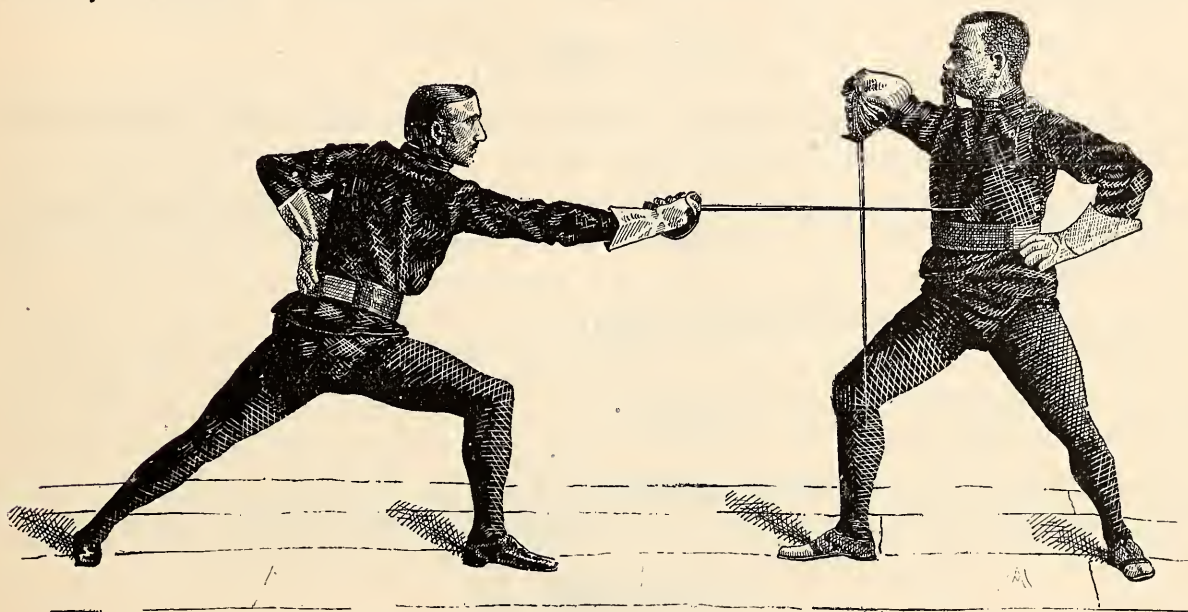
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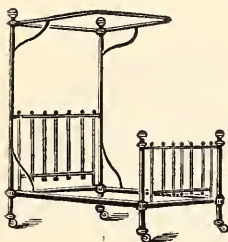
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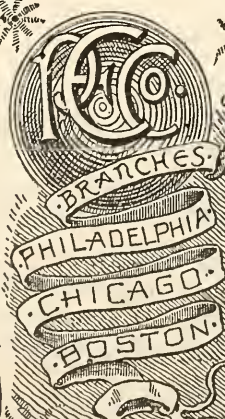
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RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.

STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

ASSETS, - - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

## Insurance and Annuity Account.

|                                                        | No.     | Amount.          |                                                         | No.     | Amount.          |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------|------------------|
| Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886..... | 120,952 | \$368,981,441 36 | Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887..... | 129,927 | \$393,809,202 88 |
| Risks Assumed.....                                     | 18,673  | 56,832,718 92    | Risks Terminated.....                                   | 9,698   | 32,004,957 40    |
|                                                        | 139,625 | \$425,814,160 28 |                                                         | 139,625 | \$425,814,160 28 |

## Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

|                                   |                  |                                               |                  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| To Balance from last account..... | \$99,865,644 11  | By paid to Policyholders:                     |                  |
| Premiums.....                     | 15,634,720 66    | Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....       | \$4,908,729 61   |
| Interest and Rents.....           | 5,502,456 01     | Dividends and Annuities.....                  | 2,727,454 13     |
|                                   |                  | Deceased Lives.....                           | 5,492,920 00     |
|                                   |                  |                                               | \$13,129,103 74  |
|                                   |                  | By Other Disbursements:                       |                  |
|                                   |                  | Commissions and Commutations.....             | \$1,732,632 83   |
|                                   |                  | Taxes.....                                    | 277,169 85       |
|                                   |                  | Expenses.....                                 | 1,091,613 91     |
|                                   |                  |                                               | 3,101,416 59     |
|                                   |                  | By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.... | 52,566 14        |
|                                   |                  | Balance to new account.....                   | 104,719,734 31   |
|                                   | \$121,002,820 78 |                                               | \$121,002,820 78 |

## Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

|                                                                |                  |                                                   |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated..... | \$108,460,120 25 | By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate..... | \$50,118,949 66  |
| Premiums received in advance.....                              | 78,274 84        | United States and other Bonds.....                | 42,071,641 00    |
| Surplus at four per cent.....                                  | 5,643,568 15     | Loans on Collaterals.....                         | 6,172,917 25     |
|                                                                |                  | Real Estate.....                                  | 10,591,286 32    |
|                                                                |                  | Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,    | 2,306,203 08     |
|                                                                |                  | Interest accrued.....                             | 1,166,870 65     |
|                                                                |                  | Premiums deferred and in transit.....             | 1,565,117 28     |
|                                                                |                  | Sundries.....                                     | 188,978 00       |
|                                                                | \$114,181,963 24 |                                                   | \$114,181,963 24 |

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Auditor.

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